

Trading for Peace

An overview of markets and trading practices, with particular reference to Peace Markets in northern Bahr el Ghazal, South Sudan



by
SUPRAID, BYDA, and Concern Worldwide

Study Published: September 2004
Study Conducted: 2002

Funded By USAID, OFDA
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Editors: Shannon Fraser, Caroline Gullick, Sebastian Ling, and Ka Vang

Assessment Team Members: Judith Hakim (Concern), Jane Mungoma (Concern Worldwide), John Malith Aguek (SUPRAID), Manut Chol (BYDA), Samuel Okwera (Concern), Kwol Athian (BYDA), Rehan Ajuet (SUPRAID), Garang Amuk (BYDA), Caroline Gullick (USAID Consultant)



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Foreword

The establishment of an arena where goods and products can be exchanged, the development of an infrastructure where service-based enterprises can provide needed benefits to the community, and the formation of locally-based trade organizations where the coordination of trade-related interactions can facilitate exchanges are all challenges in themselves on any scale. However, when such scenarios emerge in areas where civil war and tribal conflicts have been rooted for over twenty years, a unique perspective is presented. When evidence exists that trade can flourish in times of war and can provide a forum for communication, interaction, and an exchange of goods, a tremendous feat has been accomplished. In such a context, trade represents a mutually beneficial activity that can coalesce warring peoples and can provide outlets for communication, while requiring that each side realizes that the other's products are necessary to carry on with day-to-day activities.

Northern Bahr el Ghazal, located in the transition zone of Sudan, exemplifies this situation: lying between North Sudan and South Sudan, this area has become a haven for communication, interaction, and trade between the warring northern and southern Sudanese. Moreover, the local tribal conflicts that are deeply embedded in the region have abated in recent years, owing to the establishment and growth of trade markets. The "Peace Markets," as they have been termed, have impacted the processing of commodities and goods, defined communities and villages, transformed the opportunities of women, revamped labor

migration policies, brought currency standards to the forefront of trade and development discussions, highlighted the need for updated credit policies, reiterated the demand for improved transportation access, and reassessed the role of relief agencies and NGOs. These are just the preliminary changes: much change and development is needed as these Peace Markets expand and as the civil war and tribal conflicts draw to a close. As the existence of the Peace Markets will, in fact, provide the impetus for social change and harmonization in many aspects of post-war Sudanese society, these markets' history, development, and continuation deserve unwavering examination and study.

It is the hope that through this document and discussions with those involved in the study, the NGOs, potential traders, and those concerned with Sudanese developments will come away with an increased sense of what has thus far been accomplished, where strengths and weaknesses lie, and how proposed trade-related and commodity-based activities will benefit those communities and people who will be impacted. This study is also a testament to those who have gone beyond basic endurance and survival during times of war and conflict and have envisioned and established the Peace Markets, thereby providing an informal means of conflict resolution and community-based discussion.

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Brian D'Silva

USAID-Sudan Task Force

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SUPRAID, BYDA, USAID, Concern Worldwide, SPLM, SRRC, GOAL, ADRA, Tear Fund, UNICEF and WFP.

We would also like to thank in particular the southern Sudanese people and the Missiriya traders who gave their time and patiently assisted us with our inquiries.

The views expressed in this report are those of the assessment team and the interviewees and do not necessarily reflect the views of the organizations involved.

The knowledge remains the intellectual property of the people and communities from which it came. We are extremely grateful for the cooperation and hospitality extended to us during our trip and wholeheartedly thank those we met for their transparency and their desire to bring about change which will enhance the future of the economy.

It is intended that the information will be useful in highlighting critical issues that need to be addressed. Also, we hope to promote and assist the development of initiatives of people living in extremely difficult circumstances and to give them a better chance of shaping their futures in the way they see fit.

Peace Market Assessment Team Members:

Judith Hakim, Jane Mungoma, John Malith Aguek, Manut Chol, Samuel Okwera, Kwol Athian, Rehan Ajuet, Garang Amuk, and Caroline Gullick

List of Acronyms

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
BYDA	Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency
CDC	County Development Committee
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
GOS	Government of Sudan
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
Ksh	Kenyan Shilling
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSCSE	New Sudan Center for Statistics and Evaluation
OFDA	Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance
PDF	Popular Defense Force
SD	Sudanese Dinar
SINGO	Sudanese Indigenous Non-Governmental Organization
SP	Sudanese Pound
SPDF	Sudan People's Democratic Front
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SRRC	Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
STAR	Sudan Transitional Assistance and Rehabilitation
SUPRAID	Sudan Production Aid
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
Ush	Ugandan Shilling
WFP	World Food Program

Executive Summary

Why examine markets and trade in a place which has been at war for so long? How can these markets even exist, be meaningful, or provide for the requirements of human needs? Amazingly, through people's resilience and resourcefulness, trade has not been dormant through the years of war in Sudan. Trade has bridged political barriers, infiltrated garrisons and rural areas, crossed both national and international borders, as well as ethnic and religious divides. It has existed in a low level, clandestine manner, often at great personal cost, which includes the rape and death of some of the traders. Trade has enabled at least some of the population (those who can afford to purchase goods) to attain a more dignified life. The majority, however, have made sacrifices to acquire basic supplies like soap. These people have had to trade much-needed relief commodities, such as a blanket or a mosquito net, in order to purchase food to meet the immediate needs of their families.

The need to trade has stimulated dialogue and positive interaction among people living under politically opposed regimes. While supporting the ideologies of their leaders, people also have to address the need to survive. To do this, they have overcome their differences and have sought ways of achieving peaceful coexistence through local peace agreements. The purposes of these agreements have primarily been on addressing the return of the abducted, securing safe access to grazing land for livestock, and improving trade relations. These agreements, which are yielding positive results, have been negotiated by Peace Committees and the Chambers of Commerce, which are comprised of representatives from both northern and southern Sudan. The popular support for these agreements, however, is severely hampered by the lack of inclusion of a broad participation of stakeholders, such as women and youth, and an inability to disseminate information to a wider audience. They have therefore not progressed far enough to alleviate the

fears and mistrust felt by many who have suffered years of persecution.

In the markets in northern Bahr el Ghazal there are two main components of trade: the trade of imported goods from the north or east Africa and the internal and export trade of local production. Though both are important, the latter is the key to attracting much-needed capital which could contribute to economic growth and development in the area. For a multitude of reasons, the terms of trade are not favorable for producers and traders of local products. There is a tendency for the local government to give more support to traders who import goods which is leading to a marginalization of local products. The northern traders would like to purchase larger quantities of goods from the south as they did before the war, but they are severely constrained by chronic problems such as the lack of transportation and poor road conditions. The movement of commodities through unsettled terrain, the establishment of water facilities for livestock on trade routes to the north, and the risk of insecurity and harassment in both GOS and SPLM areas are all challenges that need to be overcome.

The exchange and management of livestock is the glue of southern Sudanese society. The most significant transaction of livestock concerns bride wealth. The recent rise in the amount of livestock given for a bride is something of a dilemma in economic terms. The desire to procure more livestock leaves little money for investment in other areas such as micro-enterprises, appropriate technologies, and other investments that could lead to job creation. As there are no investment or savings institutions in the area (such as banks), livestock are seen as the safest savings option, with calves being the main short-term return on investment. The increase in livestock holdings has other inherent problems, with disputes arising between cultivators and herders, as well as among herders themselves. These groups compete over access

to the best grazing and water areas. Unregulated growth in livestock numbers also leads to rangeland deterioration. The rangeland is common property, thus everyone shares the loss and yet those with the most livestock privatize the gains.

Much local trade revolves around natural plant resources, such as off-farm products like fuel, wood, gum arabic, indigenous fruits and vegetables, and thatching grass. Traditionally, this has involved little-to-no management of the resource base, with people able to gather the resources as needed. Livestock production has involved animal husbandry but has excluded the management of pasture land (with the exception of burning). Cultivation has addressed the need to manage on-farm vegetation only. The lack of management of natural resources, which are not under individual ownership, may lead to a dangerous lack of responsibility for the broader ecosystem and the sustainability of dependent livelihoods. If these resources are to be further exploited with an increase in trade and the development of value-added technologies, then serious consideration must be given as to how this can be done in ways that will enhance and protect the resource base and the traditional usufruct rights. The continuation of active trade in wildlife products is a serious threat to the future existence of the targeted species and their potential as a national resource.

A Chamber of Commerce has been established in each county in northern Bahr el Ghazal, the members of which include the wealthier traders. In the Peace Markets, the Chamber has a particularly important function in maintaining the status quo between the Missiriya and the Dinka traders through dispute resolution. In other counties, Chambers of Commerce have a broader range of activities concerning the interests of the traders, such as training, identifying market opportunities, and promoting products. Expansion into these areas would be highly beneficial for the traders in northern Bahr el Ghazal. For the moment, however, this is not possible as the structure of the Chambers is not well defined and there is a lack of capacity building opportunities which has hindered the improvement and launch into creative trade-enhancing support. It should be noted that it is not only

the wealthier traders who need institutional representation: addressing the concerns of poorer traders, part-time traders, and aspiring entrepreneurs would benefit both the economy and the public at large.

In addition, more women than men are involved in the sale of locally produced goods. However their business is not recognized because the income generated is often small in relation to that of traders of imported goods. Also, their trade may be seasonal, and few women are permanently based in the market due to household commitments. Because of this, little is done by local authorities to boost or improve their trading conditions. There is a general perception that women are only interested in trading when they need something for the household: while many women acknowledge that their income goes directly to meeting household needs, they also express the wish to expand their businesses into something of a more permanent nature. Their inability to do this can be attributed to their lack of access to credit, their exclusion from trading institutions, the stigmas applied to female traders, the absence of formal education for women, and the lack of promotion of their trading activities. While the war has in some ways prompted women in decision making roles (in the absence of their menfolk) it would seem that new institutions and decision-making bodies are still the domain of men. The traditions, which are dictating this exclusivity, are a threat to the welfare of both women and their children. Outdated traditions and stigmas plague female traders who may be physically or verbally abused in the market, particularly if they are widows. Some married women claim to have been beaten by their husbands when they first started their businesses or accepted employment with an NGO. However, these women also insist that they have no choice but to defy their husbands as they are, in many cases, the sole provider for their households, since men may have other uses for the income they generate, such as drinking or providing for a number of wives.

The controlled emergence of Peace Markets, with the tentative endorsement of the SPLM, has ensured a much-needed supply of manufactured goods to the area from the north. For security reasons, trade is tightly controlled. The Chambers of Commerce and

the Peace Committees arbitrate disputes between northern and southern traders. The Missiriya traders are making profits despite the constraints they face such as lack of transport, poor road conditions, insecurity, and harassment in both the SPLM and GOS areas. Currently, local producers lack resources and therefore are unable to take full economic advantage of the markets. They feel the profits are only being realized by the Missiriya traders who have more experience and better trading connections. The complete lack of formal credit or savings institutions hampers the ability of local traders to expand their businesses and compete. The lack of diversification into business and micro-enterprise can be partly attributed to the lack of investment capital as well as the need for capacity and skills training. A large labor force continues to migrate in search of work because few jobs are available locally. A serious commitment needs to be made by the authorities to address the issue of the underdevelopment of rural enterprise.

In northern Bahr el Ghazal, the physical currency is the Sudanese Dinar (referred to as the Sudanese Pound). Although in other parts of southern Sudan different currencies are used, the use of the Dinar is key to the cross-line north-south trade. The SPLM authorities do not approve of the use of the enemy currency, but, without an alternative, there is little they can do. The use of the Dinar is fueling the marginalization of northern Bahr el Ghazal by the SPLM authorities who are geographically positioned further south. This group has easier access to trade with East and West Africa and therefore uses other currencies. Though trade is expanding, cash does not circulate in northern Bahr el Ghazal for long. Men who earn money from selling livestock to northern traders or from migrant labor almost invariably use this money to purchase imported goods from northern traders. Hence the money moves back to the north almost immediately. A thriving bartering system is being carried out both inside and outside the physical market with the limited available cash. While bartering is an extremely useful option in the rural areas, it leads to a loss of revenue to the state because it is untaxed.

Different types of revenue are collected in the form of tax contributions and licenses. However, because the

system lacks transparency, accountability, and properly trained personnel, it is open to exploitation. The community does not see returns and the tax burden falls disproportionately on the traders themselves.

NGOs have introduced commodity injection schemes, often at a cost recovery basis, to increase the supply of basic goods and reduce the exploitative prices being charged locally. This creates a more competitive market which will provide goods to more people and expand trade exponentially. In Sudan, there has historically been a monopolistic market dominated by large-scale northern merchants. Attempts at breaking these cartels have often led to the import of commodities in which ironically Sudan may be otherwise self-sufficient. There are similarities in the south today, except nowadays, the importers of goods are the relief agencies. Relief commodities can easily distort trade activities. Given that stakeholders are not homogeneous, relief organizations have their own criteria for identifying beneficiaries. Despite this, the efforts to reach the isolated, needy cases have often failed and relief ends up in the wrong hands for a wide variety of reasons. This can have repercussions for traders. Relief agencies need to be aware of the impact of their interventions on the economy. To avoid distorting the economy, thorough market research needs to be carried out on market prices, trends, and their influences on commodity flow before interventions take place.

CONCLUSION

Trade in and through the markets of southern Sudan is remarkably active given the context of over 20 years of civil war and local conflicts. The benefits of this trade extend beyond the gains of income-generation and livelihood creation. North-south cross-border trading, mainly through the Peace Markets, creates a positive opportunity for cultural and economic interaction leading to a growing understanding and respect between politically divided and warring peoples. A transition away from livestock-dependence towards micro and small enterprises existing within an enabling trading environment will also reduce pressure on fragile arid and semi-arid lands and thereby help protect the environment and natural resource base. Despite these three key areas of potential gain (eco-

conomic, political, and environmental) trade remains constrained as a result of a variety of socio-political factors. Due to mutual distrust between the north and south, a comprehensive, enabling environment for cross-border trade has not yet surfaced. Moreover, lack of both administrative and physical infrastructure hampers trading activities. Key problems include the ill-regulated tax systems and the poor transport and road networks. Societal values, including low respect

for female traders and a focus on the livestock economy, are also key limiting factors. Finally, the impact of food aid has often proven to be negative on the market economy. This paper explores the present trade situation on the ground, examines both the potential gains of increased trade, highlights constraining factors, and identifies concrete recommendations for increasing trade opportunities for the north and the south.

1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

“Where people persistently endeavor on a daily basis to let uncertain ends meet...”

(Edward Abye Lino, 2003. p. 36¹)

This report provides a summary of the information collected during interviews with a wide range of people in South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda. It is hoped that the information will highlight issues to be addressed and will be utilized to further develop the initiatives of people living in extremely difficult circumstances so as to give them a better chance of shaping their future in the way they see fit.

1.1 BACKGROUND

Markets do not exist in isolation but are a part of a complex network of production, consumption, transport, trade, etc. Our assignment has been to investigate the impact that Peace Markets in the northern Bahr el Ghazal region of South Sudan have on the livelihoods of stakeholders and on peaceful coexistence along the transition zone. Given that Peace Markets are a small part of the economic network, the team decided that a holistic approach to the assessment would provide a useful and informed perspective. Therefore, a broad assessment of the current trading situation and trading environment in the area was undertaken, and lessons learned from an abundance of historical documentation were used as analytical tools.

Many reports and articles have been written on macroeconomic studies, household coping mechanisms, and relief agency and government strategies from which lessons can be drawn. Authors who have addressed these topics include Duffield², Curtis et al.³, de Waal⁴, Swift⁵, Turton⁶ and Keen⁷ to name but a few. Together they provide a picture and explanation of how a combination of elitist policies in Sudan have favored the wealthy and brought about the desperate economic situation faced today by people of both the north and south. Environmental degradation, competition for resources, and marginalization are forcing many poor to adopt coping mechanisms, many of

which are often exploitative and cause localized conflicts.

Duffield demonstrates that commercial developments taking place in northern Sudan among the rich have negatively affected the poor in many ways. Trade from the outside has undermined the profitability of many former craftmakers. Agricultural expansion by the rich has confined the poor to fixed and increasingly infertile plots. As the local demand for labor has been more than matched by a growing need for money among the poor, so wages have become lower. The maintenance of family solidarity among the rich can be contrasted, therefore, with the tendency towards fragmentation among the poor.

When researching the secondary literature, it becomes clear that an emergence of elitist trends modeled on the past as well as many exploitative practices have shaped people's understandings, aspirations and expectations of trade today.

1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

“The Northern crisis stems from economic pressures and exigencies and, in the South, stems from the destructive effects of war. Isolation during the colonial period and neglect during the first civil war has led to the south being, perhaps, one of the most underdeveloped areas in the whole of Africa.”⁸

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the famines, which have caused great suffering to the Dinka of southern Sudan, were linked to exploitation by northern Sudanese and international interests.⁹ Conflict over grazing lands between the Dinka of northern Bahr el Ghazal and the Baggara Arabs from southern Darfur and Kordofan in western Sudan was exacerbated and exploited so as to further political aims and subdue opposition by a succession of political leaders. Slavery and its economic benefits came to underpin the

social and commercial life of large parts of northern Sudan.¹⁰

Improved veterinary services in the 1950s helped to increase the herd size of the Baggara cattle. At the same time, the expansion of mechanized farming and smallholder farming for export took increasing amounts of land in the rain-fed areas of the north. By the 1960s this had spread into Kordofan and Darfur with major repercussions. The reduction in rangeland and the obstruction of migratory routes caused great hardship to the pastoralists.¹¹ The resulting intense competition for grazing land became the major cause of conflict between farmers and pastoralists in the area. At the same time, the Government of Sudan (GOS) was adopting coercive measures to evict traditional cultivators and pastoralists, moving them from their farms and grazing lands to more marginal lands.¹²

Following the drought of 1984, commercial farmers planted less, which resulted in a decline in jobs. This left an estimated 4.5 million people in the agriculture sector with no social security provisions and few assets to fall back on.¹³ During the drought, the GOS is said to have prevented victims of the crisis from settling in the wetter areas in the north, proposing that these areas should be used for the further expansion of large-scale mechanized farms. The consequence was that a growing number of people unable to continue their farming or pastoralist activities flocked to the towns where they were supported by international aid.¹⁴ Under these pressures, peaceful negotiations through inter-tribal conferences started to breakdown, with increasing conflict over grazing in the areas bordering northern Bahr el Ghazal. The raiding of Dinka cattle became the main means of restocking for those who had lost their livelihoods.

The raiding of southerners' livestock was aided and abetted by northern profiteers, the police, and the army, all of whom used the situation to their own advantages.¹⁵ The scale of the Dinka loss of livestock was such that it caused starvation and pushed people to migrate in search of work. This labor force that was created became indispensable to the northern farmers.

The economic crisis in the north, along with the shrinking resource base, made the resources in the south (oil, water, and land) an attractive prospect. Development programs were subsequently set up by the GOS to exploit these resources, e.g. the construction of the Jonglei Canal. These programs were seen to be favoring the north. Eventually, a rebellion of southern troops in 1983 led to the outbreak of the second civil war and the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) with their military wing, known as the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). As Keen notes, the SPLM "sought to remedy neglect and exploitation of the south, while at the same time advocating the creation of a "New Sudan" which would yield economic justice and cultural religious tolerance for all groups within Sudan, in the north as well as the south."

The civil war in Sudan has ravaged the country for all but 11 years since independence in 1956. The conflict has been called the 'invisible war' as it rarely makes the headlines. Nevertheless, over two million men, women and children have been killed and at least four million people have been uprooted from their homes since 1983 because of fighting between northern and southern forces, in addition to inter-tribal and inter-clan fighting. The greatest impact has been on the Christian and African South Sudanese.

1.3 THE SITUATION TODAY

Over two million Sudanese are currently displaced from their home areas due to war; literacy rates in the south are 10% for the general population and as low as 2% for women; malnutrition levels are unacceptably high in most areas; preventable diseases such as polio and measles strike Sudan more than any other region in the world; women's participation in public affairs is very low.

The ongoing conflict has impaired social and economic development, heightening the challenge faced by humanitarian aid agencies. The disintegration of social and family structures has left communities even more vulnerable to food insecurity, malnutrition, high infant

mortality and morbidity. Infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals, roads, and communication networks, are either non-existent or in disrepair.

The GOS, on the grounds of religion and race, continues to antagonize the communities bordering the north and south by training and arming the Popular Defense Forces (PDF) among the Arab tribes to raid areas of South Sudan, by looting and destroying properties, and by enslaving women and children. The result is disrupted trade and seasonal labor migration across the common borders between the Arab and African regions.

Local initiatives of bordering nationalities have recognized the need for strategies to promote peaceful co-existence. These are gradually evolving through local agreements regarding access to grazing area and Peace Markets. This local accountability is a demand-driven response to people's needs to repair and get on with their lives, and it is far removed from the political agendas and decisions in which they play no part.

1.4 BACKGROUND TO TRADE IN NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

Over the last ten years there has been relatively little research on trade in southern Sudan. This can be explained for the following reasons:

- Few visible markets due to the constant movement of people, insecurity, and the destruction of existing markets,
- Lack of cash available to purchase goods,
- Almost total absence of imported goods, except for relief items,
- Reduced production in many areas because of displacement during the cultivation period and destruction of harvests and looting of livestock by militia forces,
- The securing of livestock in safer areas further south (such as Tonj),

- The reluctance of farmers to talk about surplus production or their livestock due to fears that this could cause a reduction in the relief coming to the area.

This, however, does not indicate an absence of trading activity: trade was taking place but not in an obvious manner. Traditionally, trade did not use a cash medium but was based on a direct exchange process of commodities of perceived equal value, i.e. livestock for grain. There were also small commodities being exchanged, such as fish and tobacco. Before the war, well-established trade links with the grain production areas in central Sudan were the major source of staple foods for the Dinka when their own crops failed, which was not an infrequent occurrence.

Clandestine trade between the garrison towns and the surrounding communities was, and still is, active. The rules and regulations governing the use of the original town markets made trading risky and not necessarily profitable. In addition, there were also access restrictions and taxes imposed by the SPLA, which is keen to discourage trade since it provides resources and money for the enemy. Nevertheless, the demand for goods by the inhabitants of the towns (who needed basic supplies such as food and firewood) and the demand of the rural communities (which needed commodities such as salt, soap, and clothes) perpetuated trade. Women were able to access the towns more easily as they were considered less of a threat than men. Normally, the women would have relatives in the towns who would assist them and provide them some security. Also, there were Dinka agents who came from the towns on behalf of the traders to purchase local goods in the rural areas, particularly during the time of harvest when the prices were low. Mutual gains were to be had from this trade, which was recognized by both the GOS and the SPLA. This produced a conflict of interest: at a higher political level it was not acceptable, but at the local level it was a necessity not only to the communities involved but also to the local forces on both sides.

Alternative rural trading sites were gradually established outside the garrison towns (at sites such as

Warapec, Warawa, Manyiel, Pankot, Barpakeny, Nabagok and Malual Tit) to reduce the risks involved in accessing the town markets. These markets had livestock auctions and provided imported goods, which were bought with cash or bartered for with other commodities. These goods included clothes, salt, soap, fishing equipment, and human and veterinary drugs, along with local produce such as grain, groundnuts, alcoholic beverages, honey and snack foods. Gradually, as more garrison towns came under SPLA control (beginning with Rumbek in 1996) the substitute markets shrank in size and people started to once again go to the original town market sites.

In 1998 two important changes occurred: improved security and the appearance of a new trading cadre, both of which can be traced back to one man, Kerubino Kwanyin Bol. Kwanyin Bol was a notorious GOS commander who was responsible for leading the militia that killed hundreds of people, displaced thousands, destroyed homes and assets, looted relief supplies and left people destitute. After a disagreement he defected with his militia from the GOS and attacked the garrison towns of Wau and Awiel. The southerners who had held professional posts (such as administrators and teachers) in the towns were now under suspicion of espionage and fled to the countryside for safety. Many brought small amounts of capital with them. These urban people, unfamiliar with the rural lifestyle of cultivating and livestock keeping, turned to trade for survival. In addition, the famine of that year led to the largest airlift in UN history, providing massive amounts of food and basic goods, much of which found its way through market interactions (labor, barter, and cash sales). Since Kwanyin Bol was no longer pillaging the countryside, local security improved, and with the knowledge, skills and assets of these new entrepreneurs it was not long before markets started springing up and expanding.

The new traders, recognizing the demand for manufactured goods and the commercial advantages of peaceful relations, used their connections with the north to bring goods into the south. While trying to attain an understanding of trade in the transition zone of the border between North and South Sudan, we found that the traditional pastoral economy and pat-

terns of exchange no longer serve to provide for the community's needs. People's need for cash for school fees, taxes, medicines, imported food stuffs, and manufactured goods and commodities which are not locally produced necessitates movement towards a cash-oriented market economy. Traders are unwilling to part with these commodities for anything except cash. Today, what we see in northern Bahr el Ghazal is the tentative reestablishment of a trading mechanism that existed before the war. It is not perhaps on the terms that the southerners would choose but it is moving toward some sort of normality. The northern traders are bringing high value commodities to what are now called Peace Markets, which have been established along the north-south border by Peace Committees. Currently, with the exception of livestock, the volume of commodities moving from the south to the north is low. This results from the inadequate transport system and infrastructure, and it has a direct impact on the liquidity of cash which generally flows back to the north. While the Peace Markets are facilitating trade between the north and south, the northern traders, who are treated with a great deal of suspicion, need SPLA escorts. Between the markets and the north-south border, the northern traders are carefully monitored at all times. The community is divided on whether or not more Peace Markets should be established. Some feel the markets are a type of exploitative colonization, while others want to expand trade into more areas.

Southern Sudan has very diverse agro-ecological zones. Because of its rich natural resource base, range of fertile soils, adequate but variable rainfall and extensive hydrological system this area has the potential for the production of a large variety of food and non-food products, both on farms and in the wild. Production levels should more than ensure food security for the country as a whole and provide for a surplus for export. Peaceful coexistence is being promoted in northern Bahr el Ghazal, southern Kordofan and southern Darfur through the Peace Markets. The expansion of trade between northern and southern Sudan would help to further this, as well as strengthen the economies of these regions. There is great potential for this to happen by developing and promoting trade

from Eastern and Western Equatoria of locally produced items such as tea, coffee, shea butter, honey, and, from Bahr el Ghazal, Acacia gum, livestock, hides and skins, and fish. There is a great demand for these items in northern Sudan as well as for items from

East Africa. For this to happen, however, approval and commitment is required from the SPLM leadership. Moreover, they will need to take action in removing current restrictions which hinder this evolution.

2

Research Process

2.1 THE PROBLEM

SUPRAID assumes that lack of capital and independent, reliable transport from northern Bahr el Ghazal (NBEG) to Western Equatoria are the main constraints that prevent local traders from effectively contributing to and benefiting from the growth of Peace Markets. Also, the lack of currency in South Sudan impedes the cash economy: there are no banks or financial institutions to provide loans for local traders and entrepreneurs. This gives the Arab traders an advantage and leads to an imbalance between the two communities' relative power to trade. The problems African traders are facing in importing goods to the Peace Markets will limit the contribution of the Peace Markets to the local initiatives for peaceful coexistence and improving livelihoods through trade.

The team's assignment has been to collect and analyze data and information and to make recommendations on how SUPRAID, BYDA and their partner agencies can support the development of trade in northern Bahr el Ghazal that will have a positive impact on local peace building.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

A steering committee, comprising of SUPRAID and BYDA representatives, was established in Nairobi and selected the team members. The team then started to develop the methodology in Nairobi before moving to Wunrok in northern Bahr el Ghazal. For five days, the team tested and modified the methodology. Once an approach had been established, the team split into two groups, with half the members proceeding to Malualakon in Awiel East, while the other half remained in Wunrok for the next nine days. Afterwards, the

two teams rejoined in Rumbek for five days of data gathering. The team then returned to Nairobi to undertake the preliminary analysis, after which one member proceeded to Yei. A presentation and discussion was held with the local authorities in each area to analyze the team's findings. In addition, a presentation on the overall findings was made in Nairobi.

The approaches used to gather information included:

- Key informant semi-structured interviews
- Focus group discussions
- Mapping
- Observations
- Secondary data review
- Participating Rural Appraisal
- Review of trade records in the markets

The assessment was carried out in two regions of southern Sudan (Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria) and two areas in northern Uganda (Arua and Koboko). During the assessments, the teams were based in Wunrok, Malualakon, Rumbek and Yei. From these locations, the teams were able to visit 16 markets. Sudanese officials and NGO/UN staff in Nairobi and Lokichoggio were also interviewed.

2.3 GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE OF THE ASSESSMENT

In all, the assessment team visited 16 markets (See Table 1), which included markets in Bahr el Ghazal as well as markets in Uganda. A cross-section of traders, consumers, producers and administrative officers participated in interviews. The following is a detailed break down of the respondents.

Table 1: List of Markets Visited During the Assessment

Market	Location	Type of Market		
		Peace	Ordinary	Ethnic
Wunrok	N BEG		X	
Abien Dau	N BEG	X		
Panyok	N BEG		X	
Akak	N BEG		X	
Turalei	N BEG		X	
Mayen Abun	N BEG		X	
Warawar	Aweil East	X		
Wanjok	Aweil East		X	
Madhol	Aweil East		X	
Maluakon	Aweil East		X	
Rumbek	Rumbek		X	
Deng Nhial	Rumbek			X
Yei	Equatoria		X	
Arua	Uganda		X	
Koboko	Uganda		X	
Kampala	Uganda		X	

Local Authorities

- Regional Governors' Officials
- SPLM Officials
- SRRC Officials
- Commissioners
- Representatives from the Departments of Health, Finance, Forestry, Customs and Excise
- Veterinarians
- Judiciary Officials
- Police
- Auctioneers
- Clerks
- Members of the Chamber of Commerce
- Chiefs
- Members of the Peace Committees

Traders

- Wholesalers
- General traders and shopkeepers
- Petty traders, including *Suq Shames*
- Hawkers, including children
- Artisans
- Cooperative representatives
- Restaurant and teashop owners

- Brokers/middlemen/market committee members
- Transporters

Employees of the following groups:

- NGOs
- SINGOs
- UN Agencies

Peace Market Assessment Team Members include the following individuals:

- Judith Hakim, Team Leader (Concern Consultant)
- Jane Mungoma, Core Team/Report Writer (Concern Worldwide Consultant)
- John Malith Aguek, Core Team (SUPRAID)
- Manut Chol, Core Team (BYDA Consultant)
- Samuel Okwera, Field Team (Concern)
- Kwol Athian, Field Team (BYDA)
- Rehan Ajuet, Field Team (SUPRAID)
- Garang Amuk, Field Team (BYDA)
- Caroline Gullick, Core Team/Report Writer (USAID Consultant)

3

TRADE AND MARKETS

Trade has generally expanded over the last four years in all of the areas that we visited. Demand, facilitated by improved security due to the absence of Kerubino Kwanyin Bol (see Introduction) and his militia, has led to the reestablishment of old markets and a growth in the number of new markets. However, most economic activities remain outside of the physical markets in the form of exchange of local commodities. The focus of this section is on trade transactions within the markets.

3.1 TYPES OF TRADE

Four major types of trade were observed during the assessment:

Local Trade

Trade for local consumption includes local items such as sorghum, milk, fish and livestock. Local trade can also consist of bartering activities outside the market on commodities such as honey, groundnuts, millet and fish. Bartering occurs between north and south of the payams in Aweil East County and between east and west in Twic County. For instance, the southern part of Aweil East County has many wetland areas that are good for fishing. Consequently, people from this area trade fish for groundnuts and sesame grown in the drier area north of the payam.

Regional Trade

Regional trade includes products from other areas. For instance, traders in the Bahr el Ghazal region buy and sell products from the Equatoria region. This trade is currently very limited on account of poor transport facilities.

South/North Trade

The trade of goods moving from the south to the north (and vice versa) is carried out through the Peace Markets.

International Trade

International trade involves the production of commodities which are imported into southern Sudan from other countries (Kenya, Uganda, Central African Republic, and Congo). These goods include human and animal medicine, batteries, salt, soap, sugar, and clothes. For its part, South Sudan exports livestock, honey, timber, coffee, sesame, hides and skin, and dried fish to these same countries. Currently, Bahr el Ghazal's main export is livestock.

3.2 MARKETS

The majority of markets in the regions we visited consist of shops or stalls made from local materials, poles, grass, platted rope, mats and mud. Usually they are open on all sides with a rudimentary roof for shade and rain protection or they have walls made of mud or matting. A table on which goods are displayed usually runs the length of the shelter. There are some exceptions: in Warawar Market, several new cement shops and stores have been built. In Rumbek, Mayen Abun, Turalei, and Wanjok Markets, stone and concrete shops built before the war have been renovated and are back in use. The number of shops in a market ranges from an average of three in a small rural market to 50 in the large villages. This does not include the many petty traders, 'Suq Shames,' who trade regularly in the market but do not have permanent structures from which to sell their wares. The markets are open every day except for those markets that remain closed in the wet season due to access difficulties and the need for people to work on the farms.

3.2.1 Market Layout

The layout of the smaller markets is fairly random, although butchers and fish sellers are set aside from other retail outlets because of the flies and the odor. Bread ovens are also set away from the main market because of the risk of fire. In larger markets, shops selling similar goods are located together in sections e.g. clothes, food stuffs, and imported manufactured goods (see Photo Section: Warawa Market). Certain areas of the market are designated as a 'local market' within the main market, and these specialize in locally produced goods. The traders in these sections are often located under a tree with their wares spread out on the ground. Some sit under temporarily erected shades or in the shadows of other structures. A commonly held feature of all the markets is the absence of sanitation and refuse facilities: refuse is dumped randomly in the market. Shop owners are expected to keep the area around their shops clean but this often just involves transferring the refuse to another area in the market or on the periphery. There were no public latrines and very few private ones. Limited access to clean water was also cited as a cause of health and hygiene problems. In all of the interviews conducted, nobody claimed to have ever been asked for their views on the market layout and the needs of the market community.

3.2.2 Types of Market

County markets are the largest in the area and receive a large proportion of the imported wholesale commodities. They also provide auction facilities for livestock. Goods purchased from these markets are then transported to satellite markets or payam markets. Small isolated stalls can be found in some of the larger villages, though generally the trade in the more remote areas tends to involve the exchange of commodities. Peace Markets are facilitated by a peace agreement to allow traders from both north and south to interact in a peaceful and safe environment. Another type of market is the ethnically segregated market, such as the one in Rumbek where Nuer traders are separated from the Dinka traders in the Deng Nhial Market. The Nuer bring fish and fishing equipment to

sell and they purchase clothes for resale in their home areas.

The size of a market is determined by a number of factors, primarily the size of the population it serves, local purchasing power, availability of trade commodities, location (e.g. if it is at a major cross roads or route, such as Malual Akon, a relief center, or an administrative center), and availability of water. The number of markets in a payam varies considerably. Aweil East County has seven payams: the four to the west of the county have three to four markets, and the three payams to the east of the county have between 12 and 13 markets. The reason is that the payams closer to the railway line are more insecure and represent a high level of risk of attack from the Popular Defense Force (PDF). However, the average number of shops in these few markets was greater than the number in the more secure areas to the east because they were concentrated by the limited number of markets. In the county as a whole, more markets are located in the south where it is more secure. The markets cater to higher population densities and also tend to be situated on the main routes. Some of the markets to the north of the payams are seasonal, becoming inaccessible during the wet season. The larger markets tend to have more wholesalers and greater quantities and varieties of commodities and artisans. They also have more facilities such as grinding mills and restaurants. Twic County has fewer markets than Aweil East though it was not clear why: it may be that the local authorities have different policies on market distribution.

The commodities available in the smaller markets are less varied and come in smaller quantities. These markets tend to provide necessities which are easily sold, such as salt, soap, tea, sugar, medicine, batteries, slippers, and clothing. Local produce is limited since the local population, for the most part, can provide for their own needs. The produce available in the market will be surplus, often deposited by the farmer with the trader, who will get a percentage of the profit. Oftentimes, an agent working for a merchant will purchase the surplus. The majority of people, however, will take their surpluses to the major markets where it

is sold at a reduced rate to a trader for a faster turnover. This allows quicker access to cash for purchasing household items. The alternative of carrying out an exchange outside the market is utilized when seeking a specific commodity such as the exchange of fish for groundnuts or of grain for livestock. Using this method, costs can be reduced by limiting market taxes, transportation costs, and travel time. In an insecure environment, many women are reluctant to spend too much time away from their home area, fearing an attack if they leave their family unattended. In the smaller markets, the majority of traders are local.

Commodities available in small rural markets tend to be more expensive than those in Peace Markets. This is primarily because the retailer marks up the price of the goods and adds a transportation cost after the goods are purchased from the wholesaler. Where there are markets, services spring up such as teashops, restaurants, and bicycle repair shops. To cater to these needs, firewood and charcoal sellers abound, and a plethora of people involved in carrying water, pounding grain, cooking, washing, and building are present.

3.2.3 Types of Traders

- Wholesalers
- Petty traders
- Hawkers
- Service people
- Retailers
- Agents
- Artisans
- Auctioneers

The majority of traders sell a variety of goods. In the larger markets there is more specialization. It is not unusual to find one trader selling soap, sugar and clothes. As a general rule, however, those who sell imported goods do not sell local produce. The majority of shop owners are men, ranging in age from their mid twenties to late forties. The younger men are elsewhere: employed at the frontline, in cattle camps, or in the fields. Apart from the mixed commodity trad-

ers, there are also specialists such as fish, meat, and tobacco traders and artisans such as carpenters, bicycle repairers, and blacksmiths.

Young boys between the ages of 12 and 16 are usually involved in petty trade, hawking for a larger trader, or helping in the restaurants and bakeries. Their hope is to gain enough money to buy school materials and clothes, and the majority disappear during school hours. Women are confined to the provision of food and drink in the many teashops and restaurants. Women are also involved in small scale trading which is barely recognized as trading by the authorities. These female traders sell small quantities of local produce such as groundnut and sesame paste, and commodities they have gathered such as wild foods, thatching grass and firewood, or goods they have manufactured themselves such as rope, potash, pots and mats.

The majority of these traders do not attend the market every day. They attend only when they need cash to purchase specific items unavailable in their home areas. There are other irregular traders who come from the villages to sell items such as tobacco and fish to the licensed retail outlets. They are likely to settle for a lower price for their goods, as they do not have the time to sell the goods themselves. In the case of women this results from household commitments or a lack of a place to stay overnight. They tend to purchase some goods with the cash they have gained from selling their goods and then they leave. Very few young girls were found in the markets, as they are considered places of crime and prostitution, which could give girls a bad reputation. The main activity acceptable for a girl is to porter goods for traders.

3.2.4 Missiriya Traders

Northern traders coming to the markets originate from many different clans and are usually part of a larger family trading network. These traders are also related to the herders who bring their stock to the area for dry season grazing. Many have been trading in the area and even further south in Wau, Awiel, and Rumbek since the war began. Now, however, these traders are restricted to the Peace Markets. They provide the bulk of wholesale commodities, their trading is tightly controlled, and they are not encouraged to remain for

long. In Warawa the traders have a more permanent status than in Abien Dau and some have taken local wives. The following list highlights difficulties faced by Missiriya traders:

Travel Insecurities

Travel is particularly hazardous between Meriam and Warawa. Traders have to travel through the bush to avoid government militias who arrest those involved in business with the south. Traders report aerial bombardment by Antinovs and looting by GOS soldiers.

Transport Difficulties

Transporting large quantities of commodities without trucks is a challenge. For example, transporting livestock by land was considered a bonus for the traders though many believed that if livestock were transported by truck, some of the costs of extra feed used for fattening the animals would be saved.

High Transport Costs

Lack of Trucks

Unregulated, Unexpected Additional Costs on Both Sides of the Border

Confiscation of Goods by GOS

Poor Means of Transportation

Donkeys, camels, and bicycles do not enable traders to carry large quantities of goods.

Expenses Incurred During the Rainy Season

Hiring draft animals is expensive during the rainy season.

Limited Water Supply

Lack of water areas between Meriam and Abyei and onwards limits cattle trade.

Lack of Ox Carts

Time and Distance of Transportation

Transporting goods from Meriam to Warawa takes ten days during the rainy season.

Suspicion of Traders

Some of the traders are government security agents and therefore all Missiriya traders are treated with suspicion.

3.3 COMMODITIES

Increasingly, large amounts of imported goods are now available in the markets. The bulk comes from the north with the rest coming from East Africa. Though there are also many local commodities available, the demand is low among the northern traders, mainly due to the difficulties of transporting goods and the fear that the Arab authorities will confiscate the goods and imprison the people. Nevertheless, there are local wholesale merchants and middlemen who collect agricultural products for export from the Arab traders. Rum Aluel Market in Awiel East is nicknamed Omdurman after the large market in the north because it is a very fertile area which produces large surpluses. Before the war, this surplus was collected by lorries and sold in the north. Local wholesalers still go there today to purchase commodities for Arab traders to take to the north. Table 2 provides examples of goods sold in Abien Dau Market and where they originated.

3.3.1 Trade to the North before the War

Before the war, the following local commodities were sold to the northern traders: livestock, groundnuts, sesame, gum, poles, honey, lulu oil (*Butyrospermum paradoxum*), coffee, mats, baskets, hides, cuei (*Tamarindus indica*), lang (*Ziziphus sp.*), thou (*Balanites aegyptiaca*), acacia gum (*A. senegal* and *A. seyal*), tobacco, bamboo, butter oil, cow peas, kerkede, and brushes.

An Arab trader in Warawa Market claims that before the war he had trucks and would coordinate, through

Table 2: Commodity Flow to Abien Dau Peace Market

Commodity	Abien Dau	Warawar	Abyei	North	Kenya	Uganda	Relief
Salt			X	X		X	X
Onion			X	X			
Oil			X	X		X	X
Wheat flour			X	X			X
Yeast			X	X			
Goats	X						
Cows	X						
Fish	X						
Sorghum	X						X
Sugar			X	X			
Batteries				X		X	
Drugs			X	X	X	X	X
Torches				X		X	
Tea leaves				X		X	
Soap				X		X	X
Clothes				X	X	X	
Ground nuts		X					
Sesame		X		X			
Cigarettes				X		X	
Slippers		X		X		X	
Tahnia				X			
Dates				X			
Biscuits				X	X	X	
Shoes				X			
Powder juices				X	X		
Glasses							
Spices				X			
Rice	X						
Kerkede	X						
Sweets				X			

middlemen, the collection and purchase of the following commodities: fish, fowl, sesame, cows, gum, drugs, coffee, tea, butter oil, ivory, skins, honey, the fruits of tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), thou (*Balanites aegyptiaca*), lang (*Ziziphus sp.*), cum (*Diospyros mesphiliformis*), baskets and mats. He told us that he would like to trade these commodities now but it was not possible because camels are the only means of transport. Another Arab trader in Warawa Market estimated the amount of commodities he bought through middlemen before the war each year to be as follows (quantities were based on seasonal availability):

Fish: 15 trucks/month (Seven tons of fish per truck)

Gum Arabic: 900 sacks/month

Sesame: 1,200 sacks/month (to Port Sudan)

Groundnuts: 4,000 to 5,000 sacks/month (to Barbanusa)

Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*): 500 to 600 sacks/month

Nebak (*Ziziphus*): 20 sacks/month

Honey: 500 tins/month (one tin contains 30 liters)

Coffee: 800 sacks/month (from Wau to El Obeid)

Leopard skins: 100/month

The trader who was interviewed also commented that before the war there had been another 200 traders moving similar quantities of goods.

3.3.2 Goods that Northern Traders buy from the South

Today, traders from the north purchase the following items from the south for resale in the northern mar-

kets: skins (lion, leopard, python, crocodile), cattle, dried fish, gum (*Acacia seyal*), kekede, medicines, veterinary medicines, fishing twine and hooks, tea leaves, shoes, empty sacks, honey, tobacco, butter oil, coffee, slippers, goat skins, sesame, groundnuts, kekede, mats, cuei (*tamarindus indica*), thou (*Balanites agyptiaca*), and lang (*Ziziphus sp.*). They also like to buy coffee and imported goods from East Africa, such as slippers, sandals, tracksuits, suits, tea leaves, and kitengas (fabrics).

The majority of local production is sold in its raw state with little value added. With the use of simple technologies, there are many ways that these products could be improved upon and diversified, which would make the products more attractive and generate more demand. Examples of this include white sesame, which is in high demand in the north for oil production, as well as animal feed and 'tahania,' the paste made from animal feed. These activities, which could be done locally, add value to local products. Other processed edible products which could be made are cheese, fruit preserves, dried fruit, dried vegetables, and powdered vegetables. In addition, non-food products such as soap, medicinal skin oils, insect repellents, and leather products (including shoes) can also be made in the south.

3.3.3 Livestock Trade

A report from FAO¹⁶ gives a detailed account of the livestock traded between South Sudan and Uganda. In our investigations, we found that all markets sell small stock but that cattle and donkeys are taken to auction in Peace Markets such as in Warawa, Abien Dau, Aniet and Tuele and also to larger markets like Turalei. Sometimes small bulls and heifers can be sold in Wanjok because it is the county headquarters for Awiel East. For an animal to be accepted for auction it needs to be guaranteed by a community leader or chief to certify that the animal belongs to the seller. This person is paid a fee. The owner has to then pay a 2,000 SP registration fee, regardless of whether the animal is sold or not. The auctioneer and clerk are paid 5% of the price of the animal, the bale is paid 3,000 SP, and the pegger 2,000 SP. With all of these costs, it is no wonder that there is a thriving illegal

livestock trade outside the formal market structure. The benefit of using the auction system in the Peace Markets is that the seller is virtually guaranteed to sell the stock. It was estimated in Warawa that three-quarters or more of the sold animals go to the north, while the rest are sold to local herders or to butchers and restaurants.

Arab traders move the cattle north to Omdurman, while incurring a number of hard-to-detail costs of trekking, taxation, holding fees and other levies. The trade is seasonal because the animals can only move if they have access to water and grazing en route. Once the animals reach Omdurman they will be held for a period and fed well to regain their strength and then they may be flown to the Arab States or transported to Port Sudan for shipment. The alternative trading outlet is towards the south where the majority are sold to Uganda and smaller numbers to the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. The animals that move along these routes tend not to be from northern Bahr el Ghazal but from areas further south.

3.3.4 Marginalization of Local Products

Historically, trade in southern Sudan favored imported goods. This same pattern is present today in the northern Bahr el Ghazal markets, particularly in the Peace Markets. The process of the marginalization of local production in favor of imported goods plagued southern Sudan in the past and prevented the expansion of trade by discouraging people to engage in trade and by keeping it in the hands of a select group of traders. These traders monopolized every aspect of trade and benefited in the following ways:

- They received prime positions in the market,
- They have better built shops and stores,
- They have more capital,
- They are members of the Chamber of Commerce,
- They have easier access to legal support,
- They are more likely to receive loans.

All of these benefits give these traders greater opportunities. The goods they sell are often wrapped in an attractive manner and there is a perception that imported products are more desirable, modern, and indicate a higher social status for the consumer. On the other hand, those who trade in local produce were not treated with the same deference. These traders are more likely to be harassed and, in the case of women, are not considered traders at all. They are taxed in an ad hoc manner and often more so than the licensed traders. A trading area is set aside from the center of the market for these traders. The local produce being sold is often presented in the same manner in which it was taken from the farms. It is usually displayed on the ground, often in a careless and unhygienic manner, which indicates to the consumer that

and not of the trading community. This may bring greater profits to the local administration and the SPLM, but it is at the cost of marginalizing their own traders and local producers.

these products are neither valuable nor important. The reorganization of Rumbek Market demonstrates this clearly (Box 1).

If the authorities are serious about building the economy, they will need to consider promoting and supporting existing trade and the wide range of traders. Those involved in the trade of local products need encouragement so that their businesses can develop. It is through this trade that money will be brought to the area and light industries can then develop. Focusing only on the elite, wealthy traders will benefit few.

Box 1: Case Study of Rumbek Market

While we were in Rumbek, the market, which has expanded rapidly in the last few years, was being reorganized because it was said to be unhygienic, unsightly, and in need of proper zoning. This may have been the case, but the manner in which the reorganization was carried out largely discriminated against the local traders and producers: instead of trying to find ways to improve their conditions, they were evicted. The decision for rezoning was made by the local authorities without consultation with the larger trading body. The authorities were unable to find plans for the new zoning project, though we were told a survey had been carried out. Traders in local produce, who had been the original traders in the market occupying the central location, were now relocated to remote areas on the periphery with no attempt made to improve their trading conditions. Their original stalls were destroyed and in their place, areas were being mapped out for incoming wealthier traders of imported goods and wholesalers who were often not from the area. There was much anger and confusion regarding this activity. People claimed that they hadn't been notified or that there had been inadequate notification which had negatively affected their trading. They didn't know if they should establish themselves in the new location, as there was a risk that they might again be evicted. Basically, the whole operation had been short-sightedly planned in the interests of an elite group of traders

3.3.5 Trade in Wildlife Products

It is hard to get information about trade in wildlife products to the north because it is an illegal activity in SPLM areas. In spite of this, wildlife trade seems to be taking place. In addition, people hoping to sell skins and, sometimes, live wild animals (such as monkeys and small antelope) approach international organizations from time to time. It is uncertain the extent to which wildlife has been depleted by the use of automatic weapons in recent years, though it is widely believed that there has been a serious detrimental impact. During the colonial period, protection and conservation of wildlife and environmental policies were introduced. Following the independence of Sudan in 1956, however, the environmental protection and conservation policies were discontinued. The new policy makers asserted publicly that wildlife should be exploited to boost national economic development and, guided by this mind-set, they began to loosen restrictions on the hunting of wildlife in the south. Commercial hunters were almost all Arabs from the north. As trade in ivory and rhinoceros horns became more lucrative (stimulated by markets in the Far East), the number of hunters increased. During the first outbreak of civil war from 1955-1976, southern guerrillas of the Anya Nya also joined the wildlife trade in order to purchase weapons with the proceeds. After the war, the weapons, including machine guns from demobilized guerrillas, were used for large-scale hunt-

ing, particularly for ivory. The killing of wildlife was carried out in an unregulated and an unsustainable manner. Many thousands of elephants were killed and both rhino species are now on the verge of extinction, if not already extinct.¹⁷ In both the government and SPLM areas, this trade is now illegal, though in the north it is common to see local authorities and senior officials wearing shoes made from a variety of wildcat species and pythons. The poorly managed and unregulated abuse of resources in the past, as well as the current illegal trade, calls for the rigorous enforcement of laws to protect wildlife resources. As can be seen in many African countries, wildlife tourism is a major source of revenue that should provide some incentive for wildlife protection. Wildlife can also be an important source of food (if sustainably managed) apart from the fact that it should be protected in its own right for future generations.

3.4 CONSTRAINTS TO TRADE

From interviews conducted in the market, the following constraints to trade have been highlighted. Please note that the following order is not prioritized:

- Traders not consulted on management of market or future planning issues,
- Lack of sanitation/waste management facilities,
- Female traders stigmatized,
- Marginalization of local producers and products,
- Disorganized taxation system,
- Harassment by law enforcers,
- Lack of credit facilities,
- Lack of appropriate technologies to improve processing of local production,
- Fire hazards,
- Poor storage conditions and vermin control,

- High demand for coffee by the traders in the north, but southern traders are not in a position to supply coffee due to lack of transportation,
- Difficulties and high costs for Dinka traders of NBEG in accessing markets in East Africa,
- Poor road networks,
- Lack of vehicles (trucks) for transportation,
- Heavy taxation on the trade routes,
- Insecurity on the trade routes,
- Taxation revenues are not utilized for the improvement of market environment or trade promotion,
- Poor coordination between government and Chamber of Commerce,
- Poor implementation of plans and agreements,
- Unempowered and weak institutions,
- Inability to protect unlicensed traders,
- Lack of sufficient female representation,
- Lack of awareness of Chamber of Commerce structure and mandate,
- Lack of links with other Chambers of Commerce,
- Lack of awareness of benefits in trading with North Sudan (i.e., bias against collaborating with the north),
- Bias towards imported goods.

3.5 EXPENDITURE AND INVESTMENT

Households weigh the consequences of expending assets on transactions and decide on the appropriate arrangements to be utilized in light of their requirements and feasibility. There are various types of transactions which can be adopted to fit the circumstances of the stakeholders. Trade using a cash medium is predominantly carried out in the market and taxed, but the exchange of one commodity for another (of a

perceived equal value) or kinship support (when a relative gives something which may or may not be returned in the same form at a later date) are also common. Individuals may decide to use the barter system with commodities such as goats, honey, groundnuts, millet, or fish or to make cash purchases depending on the goods they need.

In general, most households purchase commonly-used goods, such as sugar and tea. Although the welfare of a family would not suffer without these items, they are essential for social reasons. Poorer households will only spend money on essential goods. Members of the same household spend money differently. Women stated that they spend their money on household items, clothes, medicine, and some luxury goods. If a woman has enough money or goats she might also procure cattle. Alternatively, she may give her money to her son to start a trading venture. Men on the other hand, will use their assets to procure cattle.

Overgrazing is not a new concept in northern Bahr el Ghazal and it may be worth considering the following case study in western Sudan with regard to the sustainability of investing in livestock without appropriate range and stock management:

Box 2: Case Study of Western Sudan

'Although pastoralists in the area are aware of pasture deterioration caused by over-grazing, the reduction of income caused by lower than average yields per cow is compensated for by the increases in income from increased herd size because the losses (environmental deterioration) are shared by everybody while the gains are privatized.'¹⁸

The Organization of African Unity Plan-of-Action (1982) called for the creation of a network of small and medium-scale industries as well as the promotion of informal sectors. In 1986, the Sudanese Government called for the promotion of small industries to increase economic development, but little was done to achieve this. Box 3 highlights the importance of why this should be done.

Box 3: Development Advantages of the Rural Industries Sector

1. Efficiency. These enterprises appear to be more efficient (or can be made more efficient) in their use of available resources when compared with large enterprises.
2. Employment. Small industries provide the bulk of non-agricultural productive employment. They are also more labor-intensive than large enterprises.
3. Domestic Savings. Small industries can provide an outlet for personal savings at low-income levels which would otherwise not be attained.
4. Provision of Commodities. Rural small industries provide commodities directed to the needs of the low-income population.
5. Equitable Income Distribution. Rural small industries improve income distribution by providing income to the lower-income population and by supplying for their needs.
6. Promotion of Indigenous Entrepreneurs. Because of their number, small industry enterprises serve as a training ground for entrepreneurs.
7. Conserving Scarce Managerial Abilities. Small industries are less complex organizations of production than are large-scale firms.
8. Adapted Technology. Small industries use technologies which are more appropriate and adapted to local resources and conditions.
9. Skill Diffusion. Because of their technologies and labor-intensity, small industries are better suited for skill development than are large-scale enterprises.
10. Regional Development. Because their activities are more geographically dispersed, small and rural industries can lead in regional development programs.
11. Minimizing Rural-Urban Migration. Small industries minimize rural-urban migration by creating income in rural areas.
12. Domestic Inputs. Domestic inputs are used to a greater extent by small industries, especially those in rural areas.
13. Linkage Effects. Small industries, especially those in rural areas, have comparatively stronger linkages with the agricultural sector via the processing of agricultural products, the supply of agricultural inputs, and the supply of goods for consumption by the agricultural population.¹⁹

3.6 MARKET AUTHORITIES

There is a lot of confusion when it comes to the roles of various administrative groups, such as market committees, Chambers of Commerce, trade unions and cooperatives. They seem to be interchangeable and involve many of the same individuals. This complicates the understanding of roles and responsibilities of the groups. For example, the Chamber of Commerce is supposed to be a non-government body and yet its main responsibility is to collect revenue for the central government (though it has little say in how the money is allocated). This is very different from the role of the Chamber of Commerce in Britain or Uganda, where Chambers are autonomous from the Government and their role is to promote traders' interests in numerous ways (See Appendix).

Box 4: Lessons from the Uganda Chamber of Commerce

The Chamber of Commerce is a membership Non-Governmental Organization that assists traders in their businesses. Among other activities, this Chamber of Commerce provides assistance when traders have problems with the Uganda Revenue Authority (which is concerned with the tax revenues on imports and exports). The Chamber identifies markets abroad for those who have items for export, and it assists in securing visas for those who want to participate in trade shows.

Uganda is currently in the process of decentralizing their system. The system gives responsibilities to the various districts to collect revenues that accrue within their jurisdictions. These revenues are used for developmental purposes within the districts. Revenues collected within the districts are also used to facilitate market activities such as garbage collection. Most districts tender out this money to the businesses and other developmental initiatives such as the construction of schools. The central government only substantiates what the districts collect.

All the markets that were visited have a Chamber of Commerce, or a representative from a Chamber of

Commerce, which theoretically is a body of traders elected by peers to represent them and oversee the day-to-day operations of the markets. The Chambers of Commerce need to have the endorsement of and be registered by the SPLM. Currently, there is little-to-no contact between the different Chambers: the head of the Chamber in Warawa does not have contact with the Regional Commerce and Supplies Office in Rumbek. The trading infrastructure is fragmented: directives and information made in Rumbek are not transferred to northern Bahr el Ghazal. For example, one Chamber received various tax forms with no explanation on how the taxation process was to be implemented.

The Chambers of Commerce are rather ambiguous and vary in their organization. When asked, office holders were not clear about their roles or responsibilities. They claimed a lack of capacity building and poor communications by the SPLM which should train them and keep them up-to-date. Generally, the office of the Chamber consists of a Director, Deputy Director, Treasurer, Deputy Treasurer, a couple of members, and a couple of secretaries. There is also a representative or two based at each market.

To become a member, there are various rules by which one has to abide. In Awiel East there are 48 regulations that members follow, such as prohibiting drinking or womanizing in the market place, prohibiting sales discrimination due to personal reasons, maintaining cleanliness of trading areas, maintaining capital and currency, and providing assistance when needed. Generally, the regulations are to encourage good personal conduct and establish a beneficial trading environment. If a member breaks the regulations he is warned and could lose his license. When asked about levels of consultation between the office and the members in regard to trade activities, the development of trade, and changes to be made, the general consensus was that very little consultation takes place. Instead, if a trader would like to discuss a particular issue or dispute, he must initiate this discussion and will have to pay for an audience. The approach appears to be of a top down nature. There are no women in the Office of the Chamber despite the fact that there are more female traders than male traders.

The Role of the Chamber of Commerce

- Organize the logistics of the market,
- Maintain sanitary and cleanliness standards,
- Develop and organize market stalls (e.g. survey of plots within the market),
- Enforce regulations on banned goods,
- Provide amenities,
- Collect taxes from traders and forward these fees to the relevant authorities,
- Resolve trade-related conflicts.

The Chamber is accountable to the following Administrative Authorities

- The SPLM County Secretary on political issues,
- The police on relevant crimes,
- The high court judges on issues pertaining to money.

According to members, the benefits of participation should include the following

- Security,
- Police enforcement,
- Sanitation services,
- Water supply,
- Survey plots.

The benefits of security and police services were unexpected findings, since we were told during our many interviews that the security and the policing activities were financed by contributions from all traders (both members and non-members). In addition, we were told in other interviews that individual shopkeepers were responsible for disposing waste and constructing latrines, and that the water was supplied by NGOs. Fees for the survey of a plot in the market are separate from the license fees. Membership licenses do not cover the actual costs of many services.

3.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

- Develop a functional structure and organization,
- Define a mandate(s),
- Increase member participation in market development and trade activities,
- Develop proper policies and guidelines,
- Design strategies to raise funding for day-to-day market operations,
- Identify ways of motivating women to join,
- Improve coordination with the government,
- Identify markets for surplus products,
- Identify areas for development of local production industries,
- Establish channels to appropriately address and represent the needs of all traders,
- Develop training programs for members of the Chambers.

4

PEACE MARKETS

The establishment of Peace Markets resulted from the need among the Dinka and the Nuer for basic commodities and the growing demand from the Arab states for livestock. These markets constitute an extension of the historical access to grazing and water agreements made annually among the Baggara, Dinka, and Nuer.

4.1 BACKGROUND ON THE FORMATION OF PEACE MARKETS

Since independence, many peace agreements have been signed and dishonored between Sudanese governments and various southern Sudanese movements. Internal conflicts as well as natural and man-made disasters (including droughts, floods, diseases, cattle rustling, slave-trading, aerial bombardments, militia attacks on the civilian population in the south, and the current fighting over the oil fields) have displaced thousands of people. Inter-ethnic clashes between tribal groups over other natural resources are also taking their toll. It is estimated that over two million lives have been lost during these conflicts.

In recent years, new steps have been taken through people-to-people peace agreements to achieve peaceful coexistence between rival ethnic groups in South Sudan. Tribal and religious leaders endorse these agreements. The most important of these was the Wunlit Agreement between the two largest ethnic groups, the Dinka and Nuer, which was facilitated by the New Sudan Council of Churches. Other significant agreements include the Liliir Peace Agreement (which settled differences between two Nuer factions) and the Chukudum Agreement (signed between the Didinga and SPLA forces). These people-to-people peace agreements attracted the attention of the South Sudan leadership and elite who were torn by their own conflicting views and ideologies regarding objectives, lead-

ership, and strategies in their struggle against suppression and injustice from the government of Sudan. These local people-to-people peace agreements inspired the SLPM/A and SPDF to sign a peace agreement in early 2002 which resulted in merging the SPDF under the leadership of Dr. Riek Machar and the SPLM/A led by Dr. John Garang.

This type of approach regarding the achievement of peace is a demand-driven response to the need for coexistence between various contesting ethnic groups. As war between North and South Sudan continued unabated, the civilian population in the south experienced great hardship, their lives and livelihoods regularly came under threat, and the people often had little-to-no access to healthcare, education, markets and, in many areas, food.

It has been observed that people-to-people peace agreements are less likely to be violated if all stakeholders are included. It was also recognized that if these agreements are to be adhered to in the long-term, then it is essential that human and economic development take place at the grassroots level. Some rival ethnic groups, such as the Missiriya tribes of South Kordofan and Rezigat of Darfur in North Sudan, and their rivals, the Dinka Ngok of Abyei, Dinka Abiem of Aweil, Dinka Twic of Twic County and Bul Nuer tribe of Bentiu in South Sudan, have initiated and implemented their own modes of coexistence through the establishment of Peace Corridors and Peace Markets.

Since independence, the Baggara tribes of Kordofan have carried out annual raids, kidnapping of women and children, and rustling cattle from the Dinka and Nuer tribes of the Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal regions. There was a relatively peaceful period between 1975 and 1980. When war was renewed in 1983, the GOS armed the Baggara tribesmen, enabling them to raid beyond the border areas. In response, Dinka and Nuer youth purchased modern weapons and formed what they named the Cattle Guards Brigade (*Tit weng*).

This group kept the Baggara and their cattle away from water points and grazing grounds for two years. Consequently, the Baggara suffered losses in numbers of livestock, which eventually forced them to seek peace. They were granted access to grazing grounds on the condition that they return abducted women and children. They also promised to cease hostilities. These agreements were renewed annually because the Baggara had the tendency to break these agreements at the end of the dry season when they turned homewards from the wetlands.

Since 2001, some progress has been achieved, capitalizing on the opportunities resulting from the grassroots peace agreements. These agreements, geared towards joint efforts in the economic development of citizens in the contested zones, led to the development of Peace Committees, which were secured jointly and included members from both sides of the conflict. Peace Corridors were identified and Peace Markets were constructed along the frontline at the following points:

- Mankien (Baggara and Nuer)
- Abien Dau (Dinka Twic, Dinka Ngok and Missiriya)
- Warawar (Dinka Aweil East and Missiriya)
- Gok Macar (Dinka Aweil West and Rezigat)

Since the signing of the people-to-people peace agreements, the constitution of Peace Committees, and the construction of Peace Markets (in April 2001), ethnic conflict has decreased.

Currently, there are five Peace Markets in the Bahr el Ghazal region. Initially we were told there were three. However, during the assessment it was revealed that there were two additional lesser-known Peace Markets in Abyei County, namely Tuelei and Aniet, established in February 2002. Thus, the total number of Peace Markets is eight, which includes Mankien in Upper Nile and Paddiet and Nyaldiu in Western Upper Nile (Table 3).

Two Peace Markets (Abien Dau in Twic County and Warawar in Aweil East County) were visited during the assessment. In order to draw conclusions on the viability of the Peace Markets, other non-Peace Markets were visited for comparative information.

4.1.1 What is a Peace Market?

According to the respondents interviewed, a Peace Market is:

- A market where northern traders (such as the Missiriya and Rezigat) are allowed to freely trade.
- A market that allows both the southerners (Dinka and Nuer) and the northerners (Missiriya and Rezigat) to interact peacefully in trade.
- A market in which the Missiriya are not allowed to bring their weapons.
- A market with a Peace Committee to arbitrate and settle disputes.

4.1.2 Common Features of the Peace Markets

Trade between southerners and northerners is a fundamental feature in the Peace Markets. These markets are the only places where groups such as the

Table 3: Peace Markets in Bahr el Ghazal

Market	Location	Primary Stakeholders
Mankien	Upper Nile	Baggara and Nuer
Abien Dau	Twic County	Missiriya, Dinka Twic, and Dinka Ngok
Warawar	Aweil East	Dinka and Missiriya
Gok Macar	Aweil West	Dinka and Rezigat
Nyaldiu	Western Upper Nile	Nuer and Missiriya
Paddiet	Western Upper Nile	Dinka and Missiriya
Tuelei	Abyei	Dinka Ngok and Missiriya
Aniet	Abyei	Dinka Twic, Dinka Ngok, Nuer, and Missiriya

Dinka and Missiriya can officially trade and where they can put aside their political and social differences to interact freely for trading purposes.

4.1.3 Peace Committees

Generally, each Peace Market has its own Peace Committee, with the exception of Abien Dau and Tuelei, which share the same committee (we were unable to ascertain the reason for this). Each Committee's mandate is limited to its respective market(s).

Given the sensitivity of having stakeholders from both sides of the conflict in the Peace Markets, the SPLM takes a supervisory role and appoints a Chairman who keeps the Movement abreast of all the undertakings of the Peace Committee. Each of the Peace Committees consists of seven members drawn from both ethnic groups. The members tend to be made up of elders and community leaders. Women are not included in the peace negotiations nor are there any female members in the Peace Committees.

4.1.4 Functions of the Peace Committee

- Settle any disputes between the Missiriya and Dinka traders within the Peace Market,
- Allocate access to grazing land and water for Missiriya livestock,
- Coordinate safe passage for the northern traders and their goods to the Peace Markets in the south. This is arranged through the SPLM, which is notified of the dates of travel. The Missiriya traders are encouraged to travel in groups and are escorted by soldiers,
- Arrange for the release of women and children abducted by the Missiriya,
- Facilitate the quick sale of Missiriya goods in the Peace Markets,
- Supervise the implementation of peace agreements,
- Build confidence between the Missiriya and Dinka,
- Implement compensations to the aggressed parties,

- Arrange for veterinary support to the Missiriya's livestock.

Box 5: Account of a Missiriya Trader on the Inception of Peace Markets

Genesis of the Peace Markets

We should not be regarded as strangers; we were here before the war. The people in the north dislike us for being here. Due to lack of grazing land in the north, we cross to the SPLM-controlled side in search of grazing land and water for our livestock. The war made it hard for us, thus we wrote a letter to the SPLM stating that we are just citizens looking for grazing land, and we stuck this letter on a tree. The SPLM responded that they are not fighting the citizens. They stuck this response on a tree also.

This was in March 1989 and it gave us ease, as we knew we would be protected by the Movement. We consulted with our elites and were reassured. We then crossed the river [River Kiir] to Bahr el Ghazal, lived there for two years, and returned to the north in peace, not in pieces. While grazing our cattle, the southerners asked us for soap, tea leaves, and sugar. This made us realize that there was an opportunity for trading these items. We started selling these commodities. In 1992, we came in convoys of camels, carrying our goods, and we started the Abien Dau Market. The southerners welcomed us, we strengthened our relationships, and we built our confidence. News about this spread to our people in the north. As I talk, I have no fear, and I am friendly to all the southerners - I have even married a Dinka woman. There has been inter-marriage, which helps to reinforce peace.

In the north, we feel politically disadvantaged. We are deprived of education and health facilities, and hence we decided to identify with the southerners who are as equally deprived. We are here because we do not belong to Khartoum: we are all Sudanese. If the SPLM would allow it, we would open more Peace Markets. We have attempted to open more Peace Markets in Akoch and Akak but the SPLM has forbade this. It is only in the Peace Markets that we experience freedom of movement.

In 1994 and 1998, the Abien Dau Market was destroyed by Kerubino's troops. This caused the death of both Dinka and Missiriya traders, as well as the end of trade in the area. The traders were displaced to Gogrial and Warawar. The Warawar Market has also been closed more than four times due to attacks by the GOS.

When Abien Dau was reopened, the only available investment was cattle. It was hard to trade. We have established relationships with the Dinka to the extent that the Dinka go with us to the north to guarantee that the right goods are bought.

The community benefits by purchasing their goods from the Peace Markets. The GOS used to kidnap and abduct women and children from the south, but the creation of the Peace Markets has led to the safe return of the abducted. If it were not for some GOS activities, our peace would never get broken.

We are ready to choose peace over food [relief food]; with peace, we can grow and consume our own food.

It is interesting to note that the functions of the Peace Committees in the different Peace Markets transcend trade-related issues. This reinforces the assumption that the Peace Markets are an offshoot of the grazing agreements between the northerners (Missiriya) and the southerners (Dinka).

Many of the Missiriya had been trading in the area before the war and explained that even though there were many risks involved, the cross-line trade was financially beneficial. They also stressed that trading in the northern towns of Abyei and Meriam, through which the majority of goods are channeled, was often difficult due to the cartels of traders monopolizing the market and the levels of competition being too great.

4.2 STRENGTHENING THE PEACE MARKETS

Given that Peace Markets are strongly linked to peace agreements made between northern and southern Sudan, when making recommendations towards

strengthening the markets, one has to consider the threats and weaknesses of these agreements.

4.2.1 Perceived Benefits of the Peace Markets

The Missiriya benefit from the Peace Markets in the following ways:

- Gain access to grazing land, water, and trade in the south,
- Gain access to veterinary services in the south,
- Need for comparatively low capital to venture into business in the south (as opposed to the north),
- Ability to purchase goods from East Africa,
- Ability to purchase livestock from the Dinka and Nuer,
- Ease in establishing trade in the south because the markets in the northern towns have trading syndicates, which are difficult to access.

The Dinka and Nuer benefit from the Peace Markets in the following ways:

- Gain access to a variety of consumer goods from the north,
- Reduce death and abduction rates of southerners,
- Maintain peace in the area as a result of trade,
- Opportunity to sell livestock to the north.

4.3 CONSTRAINTS

The following list pinpoints specific constraints and challenges faced by traders and consumers in the north and south:

- Attacks on the traders and the markets (i.e., the Abien Dau Peace Market has been destroyed more than twice since its inception),
- Prohibition of some goods being sold to the south (i.e., dry cells and torches can't be taken into the south),

- Looting of goods by soldiers on both sides of the frontline,
- The Missiriya traders claim that they are used as human shields by the GOS soldiers,
- Levies or protection fees exist on both sides of the frontline,
- Traders from the north are viewed with suspicion in the Peace Markets (and the local authorities in the south do not encourage them to stay for long),
- The markets aim to build confidence between the Missiriya and Dinka but fail to gain the confidence of the local community,
- Ordinary people are excluded from the negotiations: the agreements are not developed through popular consensus and the information is not properly disseminated beyond a select group, which leads to suspicion. If the agreements involved all parties, the traders would not need armed escorts to and from the border,
- The Missiriya traders are often suspected by the southerners to be spies sent by the GOS. This limits the movement of these traders within the Peace Markets,
- Inadequate transport infrastructure and lack of water sources for livestock trekking north often limits trade,
- Seasonality affects all the markets. Goods need to be brought before the rains set in and movement becomes too difficult,
- There are inadequate methods of transport for the flow of goods. The high reliance on female porters, donkeys and camels to transport goods limits the quantities of goods that can be brought to the markets. There is also the added danger of insecurity: female porters may be subjected to abduction, rape and the looting of goods,
- There is a general lack of adequate currency in the Peace Markets as well as in the other markets. This is more important in the Peace Mar-

kets where traders are not willing to barter in-kind. This is exacerbated by the low levels of exports from the south to the north, thereby minimizing capital into the area,

- The terms of trade favor the Arab traders,
- Formal credit facilities are non-existent: the only credit is offered by other traders.

Constraints: Perceptions held by the Dinka

One view commonly expressed by the Dinka is as follows:

“The Peace Markets mostly benefit the Missiriya: we see very little benefit to ourselves.”

Another Dinka’s concern is that there is a lack of assurance that the peace agreements will be upheld. One key comment made during the assessment (by a female respondent) was as follows:

“For us [the southerners], these agreements are like being led into a trap: what assurances do we have?”

If the local community were well represented in the process of brokering the peace agreements, fear and distrust would be reduced. The Dinka feel that the risk to them is great since they are the ones who have to live and interact with the Missiriya, thereby exposing their women, children and livestock to the glaring possibility of abduction.

Constraints: Concerns held by the Missiriya

The Missiriya traders would like to trade in peace. Some have heard of the cease-fire agreement in the Nuba Mountains and the peace observers deployed to the area. The following is one comment made by a Missiriya trader in Wunrok:

‘We have suffered. We don’t want war. We are not a part of the Garang-Bashir War. Do what you do in the Nuba.’ (i.e. Establish a peacekeeping force in Wunrock)

Unclear Documentation

Unlike the peace agreements on grazing lands, the Peace Markets, which are extensions of these land agreements, do not clearly identify the stakeholders

who have subscribed to their existence. As a result, Peace Markets are more fragile. A key person in one Peace Market voiced his concern by saying:

“Our peace is of day and night.”

4.3.1 Growth of the Peace Markets

Peace Markets can grow in one of two ways. The first is vertically or an incremental growth that would create opportunities to strengthen and stabilize the already existing Peace Markets. The second is horizontal growth: a proliferated growth would lead to more Peace Markets being established in the Bahr el Ghazal region.

Whichever direction the growth takes, it has to be favorable both to the policies of the local authorities and to the needs of the local communities.

4.3.2 Perceived Challenges to the Growth and Expansion of the Peace Markets

A conflict of interest is evident. A large majority of the Dinka traders interviewed did not hide the fact that they do not support the idea of the Peace Markets. Their point of contention is that they were not consulted before the Peace Markets were established. They regard the presence of Missiriya in the south as a se-

curity risk, and they cannot understand why the community is being exposed to such a risk. However, the local community does not mind having the Missiriya in the south as long as they (Missiriya) are bringing in consumer commodities.

In some of the areas without Peace Markets, the reactions from the local community differ. In the markets of Akak and Panyok, for instance, a majority of the traders interviewed desire to have their markets open to the Missiriya, thus making them Peace Markets. The situation is different in the Wunrok Market. Here, support for the Peace Market was gauged in terms of the number of traders who purchase goods from the Abien Dau Peace Market, which is four kilometers away. It was found that a very large percentage of the traders bought their goods from Abyei rather than from the Abien Dau market which is much closer. The traders believe it is more profitable to bring in goods from Abyei than from Abien Dau. To verify this, a comparative analysis of three commonly purchased trade commodities from the two markets was undertaken (Table 4 and Table 5).

Apart from soap, which is 4% less profitable in Abyei, the other products are more profitable if bought in Abyei. Sugar is 5% more profitable, while tea leaves

Table 4: Commodities from Abyei

Commodity	Quantity	Cost (SP)/bag	Tax	Transport	Total Cost	Selling Price	Profit
Sugar	50 kg*	100,000	20,000	34,000	154,000	750,000	596,000
Soap	1 carton**	12,000	3,000	4,250	19,250	22,500	3,250
Tea leaves	50 kg***	60,000	10,000	17,000	87,000	130,000	43,000

* Contains 100 glasses of sugar (equivalent to 1/2kg), each sold at 750 SD

** Contains 45 pieces of soap, each sold at 500 SD

*** Contains 100 glasses of tea leaves, each sold at 500 SD

Table 5: Commodities from Abien Dau

Commodity	Quantity	Cost (SP)/bag	Tax	Transport	Total Cost	Selling Price	Profit
Sugar	50 kg*	180,000	5,000	5,000	190,000	750,000	560,000
Soap	1 carton**	15,000	2,000	1,250	18,250	22,500	4,250
Tea leaves	50 kg***	90,000	3,000	5,000	98,000	130,000	32,000

are 8% more profitable. Assuming there are no hidden costs to cut into these profit margins, the Abien Dau Peace Market seems to have no direct attraction to the traders in Wunrok Market in terms of profitability. This works against the vertical growth of the Peace Markets.

The horizontal growth of Peace Markets lacks the support of traders from Wunrok Market. They oppose any mention of having the Missiriya physically present in the non-Peace Markets. The traders reckon that this would lower the profits they get from certain commodities. Apparently, Missiriya traders sell their products at higher prices than in the Peace Markets. For instance, a glass of sugar (equivalent to 1/4 kg) in Wunrok Market costs 750 SD while the same sugar is 500 SD in Abien Dau Market.

Aside from trade-related reasons, the support and expansion of the Peace Markets is not favorable to a large percentage of the local community for security reasons. The feeling is that a horizontal growth of the Peace Markets would bring more Arabs (Missiriya) to the interior and leave members of the community at risk of exploitation and abduction.

4.3.3 The Local Authorities

For the Peace Markets to be strengthened, there needs to be unrelenting support from the local authorities. Interviews with representatives of the local authorities indicated that it is not in the best interest of the south to strengthen and expand Peace Markets. This, however, contradicts information from the local community that the local authorities initiate all the agreements made regarding the Peace Markets, such as the protection of the Missiriya traders.

Conversely, information from Missiriya traders, the Peace Committee, and the local authority indicates that the SPLA protects the Missiriya traders by escorting them across the borders. Thus, the local authority needs to be clear on their policy regarding the Peace Markets.

4.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Building on Current Achievements to Strengthen the Peace Markets

If we can apply the saying that “a journey of a thousand miles begins with one step,” then the established Peace Markets and existing agreements offer an opportunity for attaining peace in the northern Bahr el Ghazal region and in South Sudan as a whole. If confidence can be enhanced among the stakeholders in these markets, it can be used to either build peace and dialogue, which will in turn lay the ground for successful trade development, and/or reinforce trade, which will increase interaction and peaceful coexistence among the stakeholders and eventually contribute to the larger peace. To sum up, a key informant said, “Our small peace in the markets can lead to the bigger peace we are all hoping for.”

The aim of strengthening the Peace Markets should be to stimulate economic growth in the whole of South Sudan. The broader picture should focus on increasing opportunities and equitable access to both local and international trade for the various levels of traders. This should also entail empowering the local community to be able to support the emergence and growth of businesses, thereby stimulating the economy.

One facet of this will hinge on working towards creating a peaceful and stable trading environment, thus building towards the peace of Sudan at large. This involves dealing with the greater policy and political issues which may be out of reach for most development organizations. The easier way for most organizations may be by introducing activities that would directly enhance and develop business in the existing Peace Markets, leaving the local authorities to sort out the policy issues. This would, however, be self-defeating as policy is a vital part of the regulatory environment which is so important in creating an enabling environment for business growth at every level.

The Interventions to Strengthen the Peace Markets will have to take a Multifaceted Approach:

Financial Interventions

- Providing loans,
- Establishing credit programs.

Non-Financial Interventions

- Lobbying and advocating for just trading practices,
- Developing products,
- Establishing business development services,
- Providing business training and development workshops,
- Developing markets,
- Providing services to disseminate information,
- Establishing a public relations agenda,

- Collecting taxes,
- Providing administrative infrastructure development,
- Establishing accountability and transparency.

An appropriate starting point may be the development of a working/reference document (with the participation of all the relevant stakeholders) stipulating the basic tenets of a Peace Market to be subscribed to by all the stakeholders. Participation of the youth is of particular importance because the information gathered indicates that this is the predominant age group that breaks the agreements, whether deliberately or through ignorance. One reason given for this is that the youth do not participate in the process of brokering the agreements. Their participation would ensure that they understand and appreciate the need to uphold the peace agreements. By including the youth, there will be a spillover effect in strengthening the Peace Markets.

5

WOMEN AND TRADE

5.1 BACKGROUND

The war has placed huge pressures on women to find ways of earning an income to provide for the needs of their families. More and more, women are turning to trade because of the increased need for cash to purchase consumer goods. Traditionally, women without husbands (widows and those whose husbands or male relatives have gone away as part of the migrant labor force) would trade local produce such as thatching grass, mats, baskets, wild fruits, nuts, vegetables, firewood, grain, foodstuffs, beer, and spirits. Women would take commodities to the garrison town markets, sometimes at great personal risk, where there was demand either from the town's people (often relatives) or Arab traders. This is essentially still the system today. Now, however, even with their menfolk returned, women are looking for ways to continue to trade since "the money we get is used for the home but our husbands' money goes to buying alcohol and more cows for more wives."

Interestingly, the men barely recognize the women's activities as trade-related because these activities do not generally have a high turnover per individual and are therefore not thought of as a serious business enterprise. Some women do have licenses to trade or half-licenses which are bought from the payam administrator. These should exempt them from daily tax and provide them with fixed premises from which to trade. The majority of female traders sell their goods on the ground under trees, in makeshift shelters on the periphery of the market. These non-permanent traders pay daily taxes and other levies which seem to be disproportionately high in comparison to licensed traders. The annual turnover of trade in natural resources would be hard to calculate, but it would not be unreasonable to assume that the majority of women in the area are either involved in trade or have been at

one time. In the 1980s, a survey²⁰ regarding small rural industries and crafts estimated that women's contributions to the GNP for Sudan was 34.4% and one can assume that in the rural areas of the south the figure would be much higher. The impact of the harvesting common property resources such as forest products is an area not yet addressed, but it is clear that the importance of these resources should not be undervalued.

Women's activities in the Peace Markets include, for the most part, providing food and drink in teashops and restaurants and supplying firewood and water to these outlets. In the case of Warawar, where there is a large population living in close proximity to the market, it is relatively easy to sell both water and firewood. Porterage is still one of the main activities of women in the Peace Markets. Prostitution is also present, though little information is available. We did not encounter northern women at the Peace Markets. A number of the Missiriya traders had taken local wives and, hence, there are children of mixed ethnic origin.

5.2 GENDER DISAGGREGATED TRADE

There is a difference in the types of trade that men and women engage in. For example, women are unlikely to be involved in the sale or exchange of cattle. Even if the animal belongs to a woman, men will carry out the transaction. Also, they do not work as butchers or sell tobacco or fish in the market place. There are established tobacco and fish sellers, and the women must sell these items to the traders who will profit from a considerable mark up.

Table 6 shows that the types of trade and commodities sold are divided by gender. There are, of course, some exceptions. Young boys are also active in some of the same trade activities that women take part in.

Table 6: Trade Activities by Gender

Gender	Business or Commodity Sold
Female	Beer, spirits, thatching grass, firewood, mats, baskets, roofing cord, brushes, sieves, pots, snack foods*, wild fruits, nuts and vegetables, fish traps (<i>thoi</i>), milk, butter oil, potash, lulu oil (<i>raak</i>), water, pounding grain, mudding.
Male	Local goods: Livestock, skins, meat (including game), fish, ground nuts, sesame, rope, poles, tobacco, agricultural tools, iron work, woodwork, charcoal. Imported goods: Clothes, medicines, dry cells, soap, salt, sugar, yeast, tea, bicycle parts. Carpentry, blacksmithing, butcher, auctioneer.
Both	Teashops, restaurants, grain, bakery, cultivated vegetables, portering.

* There is quite a variety of snack foods available in the market, such as balls made of groundnut or sesame paste and sweet cakes made of dried wild fruits, e.g. lulu, cum, lang, and fresh fruits.

Aside from the goods listed in Table 6, poorer women are typically involved in trade of the following:

- Duma (honey beer): Women buy honey from men to make the beer, which is sold for 2,500 SP a bottle,
- Aragi (sorghum spirit): Women can usually make a 5-liter jerry can at one time. A bottle is priced at 1,500 SP,
- Firewood: During the wet season, firewood can be sold for as much as 1000 SP and in the dry season, the price drops to 250-500 SP,
- Baskets: One woman can produce ten baskets a month if she has materials. Baskets sell for 250-1,000 SP depending on the size,
- Fish: Women generally sell fish to traders in the market at 1,000 SP for half a kilogram,
- Grass: Grass is collected by women in the village. A woman will collect around 10 bundles a year. The price varies: from March to May, she can sell it for 10,000 SP, and from November to February, the going price is 5,000 SP.

As a rule, the men's activities require a higher level of investment to purchase items wholesale or to produce cash crops such as groundnuts and sesame. Generally, women do not have sufficient investment capital to enter into these types of trade. Those who do have assets, such as livestock, have to seek agree-

ment with male members of the family or extended family who manage the herd. Before the war some women, usually widows, were involved in larger-scale trade: they brought sherry, sugar, salt and whisky from the north. One woman, it is claimed, brought large quantities of sorghum by truck from Wau. Another woman in Malualakon claimed to have educated her three daughters at university level from the proceeds of her perfume trade. Today, these wealthy female traders are few. However, one who had left Wau in 1998 said she sends money north for goods, and two others are bringing goods from Uganda. One other large-scale trader was identified in Wunrok. These women, however, were very much the exception, and the only other large-scale traders were found in Rumbek.

5.2.1 How do Women become Traders?

It is hard for women to enter into the larger business arena. They claim that the small income they make after tax is spent on household needs, and they find it difficult to accumulate investment to develop their businesses. The majority of women claim to have started in trade by brewing, whereas the majority of men started by selling a bull. Little capital is needed to start brewing. We were told that 'beer is the first step in business and that if you do well, you may move up to owning a restaurant.' It is common for a woman who has a restaurant or teashop to borrow commodities (such as meat or sugar) from a trader in the morning and pay for them later in the day, without interest,

when she has recovered the cost. During the research interviews, women claimed they owned restaurants but the men disputed this, maintaining that a woman could not own a restaurant because the capital she used to open the restaurant came from a male relative. On investigation it was found that both men and women owned restaurants and in some cases restaurants were shared by groups of women who used the premises on alternating days. It was interesting to note the two contrary perspectives on ownership held by men and women.

Another example of how women start to trade was given in Wunrok. The informant, a widow, said she caught fish with *thoi* (basket fish trap). Of the fish she caught, she would eat some and dry and salt the rest to sell. She would then take them to a place where fish were normally unavailable (e.g. Akoc or Akak). She also made baskets out of *riath* (*Capparis sp.*) and would take them to Aweng to sell and then, collecting reeds from Aweng, she would make them into mats (*ayak*) to sell in Turalei. Gradually she was building capital. Her hope was to buy sugar from a Missiriya wholesaler in the dry season and sell it in the wet season at a profit (when prices are higher because the Missiriya traders go north again). She expected to purchase the sugar for 150,000 SP and sell it for 200,000 SP or more. The main problem she foresaw concerned storage: if she wants to expand her trading activities in the future she will need storage facilities. In most cases, women undertake a variety of business activities simultaneously depending on convenience, seasonality, and demand. It can be preferable for a woman to trade in the village rather than the market because she will not get taxed in the village. A pass permit, which costs 3,000 SP, is required to take goods out of the payam. On arrival at a market, traders have to pay tax, e.g. 500 SP on 5 liters of beer. If firewood is brought to the market and is left unsold that day, the woman will still be taxed in actual firewood, not in money. A woman in Rumbek told us she was sometimes taxed 50% of her produce.

5.2.2 Access to Credit

For women, access to credit is a major constraint. Relatives may give some money to start a business, but otherwise it is hard to begin a business and it takes a long time to build up capital to reinvest. Before the war, in Wau there were institutions which were prepared to give women credit if they had a guarantor who had livestock to set the loan against. Women had few assets to back loans and were therefore dependent on the goodwill of male guarantors. Some women would come together to form a revolving fund, known as a '*Selafia*.' Every woman in the group would contribute a set amount of money, which would be given to one woman to purchase commodities at wholesale price for resale at a profit. She would then give the initial sum of money to the next woman in the group. This was more common before the war: people are now too unsettled and it might take a long time before all the women in the group have their opportunity to use the group fund.

Some women can access commodity loans (such as sugar, wheat, and flour) if the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce or a relative can vouch for them. Repayment of the loans is often at face value (no interest is charged).

In Rumbek, slightly over 1% of those interviewed have access to formal loans through the STAR project (see the section on Credit). Only 3% of the women interviewed are involved in an informal savings and loans arrangement known as '*sanduk*.' The reason given for this is that there is very little money in the market. Putting the money in a collective savings activity would deny the trader the opportunity to spend on an immediate need. It was found that only wealthier women were eligible for loans because they were a lower risk. It was said that, 'to give a poor woman credit would be a high risk, as she would eat it.' In other words, it would be used on her immediate needs. This situation needs to be addressed, as it is discriminatory against a huge number of capable and resourceful women who, with appropriate support, can be the building blocks to the expansion of southern Sudan's economy.

5.2.3 How do Women use their Income?

Women generally use their money in the following ways:

- They purchase household goods,
- They give their money to their husband,
- They use the money to pay taxes and contributions,
- They pay for license fees,
- They purchase clothing for their families,
- They give the money to their sons to start a business,
- They purchase livestock,
- They use the money to pay for their children's school materials,
- They buy medicine for their families.

5.3 SOCIAL ISSUES

We were told, "Women have to be brave to become traders. They fear the disapproval of their husbands who don't want them to trade because it reflects badly on them in that they can not provide for their wife so she has to resort to trading and she may be accused of prostitution, as are the widows and abandoned women. In many cases the wife will be beaten. They (husbands) say they gave a large number of cows for us so we should not leave the house. They think that if we stay away from home for long we will commit adultery." A number of women mentioned the problem of men taking their earnings from them and that, if they refuse to hand over their earnings, they can be beaten: 'Men drink a lot and spend our money.' Ironically, it appears that the men initially discouraged the women, but when the women became successful, the men wanted to reap the benefits.

Box 6: A Woman's Oral Testimony from Malualakon

The woman interviewed wants to start a hotel to earn more money. She will then pay people to cultivate larger areas of land for her which will bring good money. She will then invest in buying cows.

"Women fear their husbands because the men don't want their wives to trade and accuse them of prostitution. She will be beaten. One woman was beaten when she went to work for an NGO. The men want to prevent women from trading. More opportunities need to be given to women to work in government, administration and NGOs to show their ability. The men will then see it is good to let women work. They will be able to provide for themselves and their families. Husbands need to be convinced through workshops. It would be good if there was a special market for women. Women are not free to buy things. When a husband has many wives he won't look after you so you need your own cows for milk, money and household goods. A woman can give money to her husband to buy her a cow when she has enough; it is a way to save money. If she wants to sell the cow later it has to be with the consent of her husband which can be a problem if he doesn't agree, but if he is away in the north the woman can make the decision herself. If you keep the money the husband will take it; if you invest in cows to make business later he can't sell them unless you agree. Your older son will look after you and your cows when he is old enough and will be involved in discussions over cows. If you have two sons, one would go to school and the other into business. You would give money from selling one cow to the one in business, to test him. If he is successful then he will be given more to make his business grow. He will give his mother clothes and food and pay back the cows in return. Husbands want the children to go to school or the cattle camp but they are not interested in helping them to start trading. Markets used to be said to be bad places for criminals: your child could become a thief with these people. These ideas are beginning to change now that there are more markets. War has created more markets but these markets do encourage drunkenness. Women should be given more chances in the market and not be taxed because they only earn small amounts and then give it to their kids."

Some women complained of harassment by an assortment of tax collectors and the police who all want contributions. There are female tax collectors appointed to collect taxes/contributions daily from the female petty traders. These revenues/goods go to the frontline and war wounded. Some women felt that they bore the burden of the war as they were constantly being asked to contribute. There are also unofficial tax collectors and drunken men who intimidate female traders and extort revenue and goods from them (see section on Revenue). It is hard to get justice, and the police have to be paid to follow-up. If a woman does not have money, she cannot start a case. If the case is started she has to pay 3,500 SP within 7 days to the police, and the court is given a percentage. Usually, the procedure is too complicated and expensive and the women have to tolerate the petty theft and harassment.

5.3.1 Participation in Decision Making

Many of the women do not have information about the key decision-making bodies (i.e., the Chamber of Commerce and the Peace Committee). Some had never heard of these committees. Interviews with representatives of these committees within Peace and other markets also indicated that the committees did not have female representatives. In Twic, the committee members blamed the local authorities whom they claim did not advise them regarding the inclusion of women in the committees. In other markets, the men in the committees outrightly felt that it was not appropriate to have female members. The only exception noted was in the Rumbek Market where the Chamber of Commerce has one female committee member. Even here, however, the woman is not actively involved in the decision-making process like her male counterparts.

The women who knew about the Peace Committees but were not involved felt that women should be included as they could contribute through their own perspectives and experiences. They feel marginalized by not being included and said, “women would be the best to intervene and stop aggression between conflicting groups.” They said they would make a formal application to become part of the Peace Commit-

tee. They mentioned that the Attorney General had visited and said women should be more involved in legal affairs. They felt they were not included because it was thought they were too busy with their families to have time to participate.

The establishment of Peace Markets has caused much consternation to women. They can see the benefits to trade, but fear that the Missiriya traders could become their enemies without warning. The women have had their children abducted and homes and belongings destroyed by northerners who sign peace agreements every year. What guarantees do they have that the trade agreements will hold? Nobody consults the women on these issues or keeps them properly informed of either the contents of the agreements or who participates in them.

5.4 CONSTRAINTS TO TRADE AMONG WOMEN

Women face numerous challenges concerning trade. Many women have revealed the following as the most prevalent constraints:

- Marginalization from key decision-making activities in the market, such as electing officials for the various market committees and market management,
- Illiteracy, which hampers business management ability,
- Lack of raw materials, such as textiles (cloth) and dyes, and processing technologies,
- Lack of capital and access to credit, particularly for poorer women,
- Low incomes,
- Lack of proper business areas,
- License requirements,
- Lack of support by men/husbands who would rather see women in the home. This difference

of opinions regarding the roles of women can also lead to physical violence,

- When drunken men and opportunists harass female traders and take their goods, it is difficult to get compensation,
- Lack of time available for women to engage in full-time business because of household commitments,
- Income is generally used towards household goods, thereby hindering women from reinvesting. Husbands can also take their money,
- Stigmas associated with women at markets: women get accused of prostitution and adultery,
- Disputes between men and women over the issue of business ownership,
- Transportation problems,
- Trade agreements are not always honored,
- Irregular and unjust taxation and levies,
- Lack of awareness of rights,
- Lack of official endorsement of rights,
- Poor market conditions.

5.5 DISCUSSION

During years of hardship women have taken on the roles and responsibilities of men and the burden of often being the sole providers of the household in the absence of their menfolk. The market economy is underdeveloped in terms of the low levels of employment, remuneration and commodity availability involved. It is more fragile in the sense that uncertainties in supply and demand mean that the poor, dependent on a subsistence economy, can easily be placed in a state of distress by adverse price changes. The potential of women in trade is currently unrecognized by the authorities. Not valuing and developing women's skills and prospects is a serious constraint to eco-

nomie growth and will have a major impact in the long-term.

The raw materials, which are central to the commodities traded by women, come from a common resource base which for the time being has few restrictions on its use. In the future, it is quite likely that restrictions on access to, and removal of, common resources will be put in place. When this does occur, it is important that research be conducted on the uses of resources. This information should be incorporated into strategies on resource use and policies in order for it not to have a negative impact on the livelihoods of the poorest.

Women's trade is limited to a small number of activities. Brewing is the most prevalent and lucrative of these activities and, for many women, provides an important source of income. Women are mainly engaged in petty trade of local produce, trade that provides them enough income to buy goods such as salt, soap, and clothing, but this is for the most part all that they can expect. It is a big leap up to the next level of trading and there are only so many restaurants and teashops a market can have. Diversifying types of trade requires the development of skills and technology that require investment of both income and time. If women are not to be dependent on beer making for an income, which in itself is leading to social problems, then the issue to consider is how to advance women beyond these petty trading activities. The need to develop technology, to process raw materials, and to develop new products and marketing strategies will require a serious review of, and changes in, the current practices of asset management. The need to purchase livestock by men to increase herd size and the purchase of livestock by women as their only safe investment opportunity are depleting the market economy of much needed capital. The primary reason for men to invest in livestock is to pay a bride price. In the last four years this has been inflated from 30 heads of cattle to 130 in northern Bahr el Ghazal! This is having an enormous effect in that livestock numbers, we are told, have increased to the point where there are now problems arising over competition for grazing between herds and also conflicts between rice farmers and livestock keepers. If there is a way of

setting an appropriate official bride price it would potentially free up capital for investment in developing local industry, technology, job opportunities, and transport, thereby building the economy.

Diversification of the production of tradable goods is a way of expanding women's trading opportunities but this is not enough on its own. The whole trading environment needs to be developed to attract entrepreneurs regardless of gender. Policies of equal opportunities need to be in place so that women can provide for their needs without being penalized by social stigmas. This should include a proper representation of women in decision-making bodies such as Chambers of Commerce and Peace Committees. This would go a long way to ensuring greater opportunities for women to be part of issues which affect their daily lives and those of their families. Women in these positions will become role models, not only for other women, but also for men who doubt the need for women's contributions in the local decision-making and political arenas.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Women are often the major providers to the household and need to be given opportunities wherever possible to increase their ability to do this on equal terms with men in as dignified a way as possible,
- Community leaders need to identify ways to promote women and trade and set good examples in their daily activities to eradicate stigmas. Affirmative action needs to be taken,
- There should be proper representation of women in all committees and decision-making bodies,
- Women must be included as decision-makers in all local planning activities that affect them and their families, particularly regarding peace negotiations,
- Extra focus and support needs to be given to women's literacy and skills training, particularly training related to business management,
- Awareness workshops should be held for men to demonstrate the importance of women in trade and the reasons why it is necessary to promote their role in the expansion of the economy. It may be useful to examine case studies from other countries,
- Women in the poorer sector need to be able to access credit so they can advance. An appropriate loan system needs to be developed whereby the poor are not penalized for being poor. This could be achieved through commodity credit or group credit, etc.,
- Women's trading interests need to be protected. Since women's trading interests have been marginalized for so long, a group of women should be elected to address some of the areas of inequality. A group which protects the rights and interests of traders can be set up in each Chamber of Commerce or similar institution,
- Diversification of trading options and business opportunities using and adapting local skills, knowledge, and materials in conjunction with appropriate technology and experienced technical support needs to be established,
- A sustainable natural resource management plan for common resources, which are used commercially to prevent their over-exploitation and to promote regeneration for future use and environmental enhancement, needs to be developed,
- Women should be encouraged to enter into the north-south trade and reap the same benefits as their male counterparts through the Peace Markets,
- Policies which protect traders and customers from harassment and exploitation need to be rigorously applied for women who are more likely to be taken advantage of than men. Local authorities should ensure that officials, such as police and taxation officers, do not use their positions for extortion and intimidation purposes and should expose and take action against any unauthorized people collecting revenue,

- Taxation should be properly organized and consistent with earnings,
- Too much wealth is tied up in livestock for bride price. This is a huge drain on the growth of the broader economy. A thorough investigation needs to be carried out on the possibility of redirecting this wealth back into the active economy,
- Workshops should be held with women to share experiences on appropriate business development strategies according to their situation, including the formation of working groups for women with serious time constraints,
- Existing working groups should be solidified and strengthened to take advantage of market opportunities,
- A concerted effort needs to be made by local authorities to ensure that traders, and particularly women, are aware of their rights and entitlements. These authorities need to ensure that law enforcement and administrators are also aware of these rights.

6.1 TYPES OF LABOR

Three main types of labor patterns were noted during the assessment: long-term migrant labor, temporary migrant labor, and local labor. Each is examined in this section.

6.1.1 Long-Term and Temporary Migrant Labor

Historical Perspective

Traditionally, southerners have sought labor opportunities in the industrialized north which had undergone a period of large-scale mechanization between the late 1950s and early 1970s. The Gezira Scheme alone annually employed 300,000 people, southerners included. Between 1970 and 1986, the number of feddans (one feddan is approximately 60 meters by 570 meters) under registered mechanized farming in the north grew from four to nine million, while another nine million feddans were used under traditional farming. The migrant labor force was initially comprised of unmarried men who worked for about six to 18 months before returning home. Later however, married men began to join this group of temporary migrants. In the 1940s, the advent of government-supervised cattle auctions, in which female cattle and oxen were collected as fines in the Chiefs' Courts, attracted local people into both cattle and labor markets by providing a real incentive for young men to earn money (even though the wages were low).²¹ Recruitment to work in the north tended to be through relatives, and a network was gradually established by this transient workforce. It was easier and safer to find work where one had connections. Migrant labor was crucial to the development of the agricultural schemes. It has been estimated that 90% of the marketable surplus came from the mechanized farms, which were controlled by less than 1% of the population.²² Two workforces provided the labor for the

schemes: the southern migrant work force and traditional small-scale farmers in the north who, unable to compete with the commercial sector in cash crop production,²³ left their own farms in search of work. Annually, young men are still seasonally moving north for work and returning for the cultivation season. These are the short-term migrants. There are also long-term migrants who stay away for years (moving to other countries such as Egypt, Yemen, and Libya) and send back annual remittances to their families.

Why do People Migrate to Look for Work?

There are two main stimuli for people to migrate in search of work. The first is a traditional livelihood pattern to gain much-needed income. The second is a coping mechanism during times of hardship when people feel they have no further options in the south. There is a growing need for cash to pay for education, medicines, taxes and basic goods such as salt, soap, sugar, tea, mosquito nets, fishing equipment, blankets, etc. The following reasons were given for why people seek labor in the north despite the grave possibility of personal danger:

- Jobs are more easily available in the north,
- Generation of capital so as to start a business is easier done in the north,
- Accumulation of capital for marriage purposes is easier (i.e., cows are purchased and presented to the potential wife's family),
- Business choices are scarce for the southerners as a result of the war,
- Lack of investment opportunities in the south are due to insecurity, and job opportunities for the community are limited,
- Coping and surviving in the north is sometimes easier when times are hard in the south,

- Opportunities for earning cash are more abundant in the north,
- Earning money for remittances to families is easier done in the north,
- Education opportunities are greater in the north.

Traditional Seasonal Activity

Young men go to the north to work on the farms of the rich Arab merchants. Women and girls will also go, though to a lesser extent. They tend to move to locations closer to their home areas, such as Abyei or Meriam, in search of agricultural work. This they will often combine with portering work and selling locally made products such as baskets and mats. For example, some young women explained that in 1995, they carried baskets and mats to Abyei where they would sell them. Afterwards, they would work on a farm near Abyei, weeding the crops or helping with the harvest. After this they would work as porters for a trader by carrying salt from Abyei to Warapec Market. The earnings they gained would be used to buy sorghum and other goods to take home for consumption. According to Gullick's personal correspondence, they claimed to do this four times a year. Similar activities are still on-going.

Coping Mechanism

South Sudan suffered a series of disastrous famines, particularly from 1985 to 1988. Herd populations dwindled, resulting from a combination of cattle raiding, poor rains, and poor terms of trade favoring northern traders (who were buying livestock at low prices and selling grain at high prices to the southerners). Relief food supplies were deliberately kept from reaching their destination in the south, and this contributed to the maintenance of high prices. The end-result was the exodus of large numbers of men and women from rural areas of Bahr el Ghazal (which was then one of the most densely populated areas of South Sudan) to the main urban centers and to the north in search of labor and food. When the war intensified in the south, conditions for southerners in the north deteriorated and, while many wanted to return to their home areas, they often did not have the means to move their families or were deterred by reports of insecurity.

6.1.2 Local Labor

Local labor is not readily available. Most people are occupied with their own farm production and livestock rearing. One common way to tend to crops is through community work, where groups of people will gather together to share the work on each other's

Table 7: Examples of Local Salaries and Wages (in SP)

Designation/Type of Work	Monthly Payment (in SP)		Area/Market	Gender	
	Adult	Child		F	M
Restaurant	20,000	15,000	Abien Dau	X	
Hawking		5,000	Abien Dau		X
Portering					
Carrying Water	20,000	10,000	Abien Dau	X	
Carrying Goods	20,000*		Warawar** Abien Dau	X	
Clerk			Warawar	X	
Tetherer	20,000		Warawar	X	
Bicycle repair	50,000		Abien Dau		X
Blacksmith					X
Hoe	5,250				
Bicycle saddle	22,500		Wanjok		X

* They spend four days travelling, and assuming they rest for two days (i.e. six days in a month with 30 days), it brings the average number of trips per month to six, yielding a monthly income of SP120,000.

** The female porters in Aweil East are losing business to men who are now using bicycles to transport goods for the traders.

farms on a rotational basis. When his/her turn comes, the owner of each farm provides a bull or goat for a meal and some beer for the group as payment.

Agricultural labor rates can vary enormously. Individuals can work for owners of large farms on a daily basis and receive a malwa of sorghum (3.3 kg) a day. In Aweil East, where the majority of the laborers come from Gogrial to work in the rice fields, payment ranges from food, cigarettes, accommodation, tools for cultivation, land, and seeds. Once the harvest is in, the proceeds are divided equally. Cash payments are rated at 40,000 SP for cultivating one feddan (approximately 60 meters by 570 meters). Local cooperatives employ people on a similar basis. There are also odd jobs associated with market services such as portering and clothes washing. NGOs provide the most lucrative jobs in the sectors of health, education, and food security. These workers are, however, expected to pay tax to the local authorities. Local administrative salaries and security are paid through taxes and goods and, in some cases, extortion. On the whole, wages are low, irregular, and dependent on the relationship of the employer and employee (Table 7). For example, a potential employee is more likely to look for a poorer relative to work for him or her.

6.2 CURRENT SITUATION

Information collected during the assessment suggests that the exodus of men moving to the north in search of work is decreasing. People feel less secure working on farms and sharecropping. One informant said that if a worker knows the farmer well, he was fortunate. There were many reported incidents where after a season of work (during which the laborers were only given food and accommodation), the laborers would then be chased away without being paid. Young men are also worried about being conscripted to the government forces, so many are looking for opportunities in the south. In addition, people are starting to return to the south, which in theory means that a more productive workforce is available.

6.3 CONSTRAINTS

Migrant labor is a drain on the southern workforce and thus impacts production and economic expansion. The following issues were mentioned as problems people face when looking for work:

- If you fall on hard times in the north it may be difficult to return, particularly if you have a family to bring with you,
- If a man goes to the north he may not take responsibility for his family's welfare in the south,
- Workers may be conscripted into the armed forces,
- Laborers are at risk of being attacked,
- Laborers are at risk of being exploited by their northern employers,
- There is a lack of job opportunities in the south,
- There is a lack of business development, skills-training, and capacity building opportunities in the south,
- Cash is in short supply in the south, where people need money for school fees, medicine, taxes, etc.

6.4 DISCUSSION

Migrant labor has a positive impact on peaceful relations between the north and south. It leads to some dialogue between the stakeholders, and there is tolerance of the movement of the laborers. It is based on a need for labor and cash, and it has worked well as a system for years. The system has become more exploitative of the laborers, and in recent years some unscrupulous employers who have taken advantage

of the hostilities in the south have not paid laborers their dues. The southerners have little recourse for legal action and are dependent on the local Sheikh's integrity to resolve issues. The situation in the north has deteriorated, with increasing national debt and droughts that have made it more difficult for the farmers to meet their commitments. This is making labor opportunities less attractive to southerners.

For the economy to grow in the south, a vibrant and active labor force needs to be maintained. The ever-increasing need for cash must be met with income-generating activities and increased production if the southern labor force is to be deterred from migrating. A key issue is the flow of cash from south to north. Currently, cash does not circulate for long in northern Bahr el Ghazal before it finds its way northwards again through the purchase of goods from northern traders in the Peace Markets. South Sudan has a wealth of resources, many of which the Missiriya are interested in purchasing but which are often not available in the quantities required. Careful market research, local investment, increased production and processing, and product diversification would all attract more cash into the area and create jobs. The improved security is bringing people back to the south but they may return to the north if not encouraged by better salaries, greater employment opportunities, and skills and training workshops.

Caution

It is important to be aware of the potential negative impact of labor-saving interventions. For example, women who pound cereals for income are usually the poorest in the communities. The introduction of grind-

ing mills by some organizations will deprive them of this important source of income. This is not to say that grinding mills should not be established but that alternative, and hopefully more lucrative, income-generating activities need to be developed for this sector of the community. Another example can be found in Awiel East where there has recently been a large influx of bicycles either purchased from the northern traders or provided by NGOs. Men own the majority of bicycles since they have the capital to buy them. Women complain that they are losing income because the bicycles are now being used to porter goods by the men and so the women are losing portering opportunities. What was previously an income-generating activity for women is now becoming a male dominated activity.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local and international investment should be used to develop resources and create jobs in the south,
- The improvement of production, processing, and diversification to attract cash to the area, particularly through the Peace Markets, needs to be addressed,
- Skills and development training should be expanded,
- Micro-enterprise opportunities for women, particularly among the poor, should be explored,
- Micro-credit schemes for starting and expanding businesses should be considered,
- The migrant work force should promote peace and conflict mitigation.

7

CURRENCY

For the purposes of this report, currency shall mean the monies used in southern Sudan.

7.1 THE CURRENT SITUATION

Currently, the Sudanese Dinar (SD) is the official currency of the Government of Sudan (GOS). It replaced the Sudanese Pound (SP) in 1991. However, the SPLM decided to keep the SP, a currency separate from that used by the GOS. The SP, therefore, is currently the official currency of the south. In the past (and to some extent, even to date), the SD became stigmatized in parts of the south (e.g. Rumbek and Yei) as it carries an Arab (enemy) connotation. It is also perceived that using the SD would mean supporting the National Islamic Front (NIF) and GOS economy, which, in turn, would mean promoting the strength of the enemy.

Nevertheless, the SD is in use within territories of the south, such as northern Bahr el Ghazal (NBEG), Rumbek, and some parts of Equatoria (e.g. Chukudum and Kapoeta). Despite the physical existence of the SD note in the south, it is valued in terms of the Sudanese Pound. Table 8 summarizes the existing bank notes of the SD and their current value in the south.

7.1.1 Constraints of the Sudanese Currencies

The physical notes of the SP are no longer in production. What exist today are old, rotten, and torn notes that are not accepted internationally or in the parts of the south where the SD dominates. Although the old

SP bills are so tattered and torn, authorities in the south continue to encourage their use. In the case where part of a note is missing, a piece from a note of a different value may be attached and, in such a case, the greater value of the two combined notes becomes the value of the note as a whole. For example, if a 100 SP and a 50 SP note are put together, the new value will be 100 SP. This encourages fraud: people can deliberately upgrade their smaller money with notes of greater value. The SD is not accepted in most parts of the south.

7.1.2 Types, Sources, and Choice of Currency

There are different types of currencies used in the different areas of the south. These include the US Dollar (USD), Kenyan Shilling (KSh), Ugandan Shilling (USh), Sudanese Pound (SP) and Sudanese Dinar (SD). It was found that the choice of currency in any particular area is related to the source of trade and, therefore, different parts of the south use different currencies. The assessment also revealed that within the same market there exists more than one currency.

In Yei, the USD, USh, and SP are used, but not the SD. The KSh is also accepted but it is not in common use. Because a great deal of trade occurs across the border with Uganda, the USh is in common use. However, the official currency is the SP. Thus, the USh is equated to the value of the SP, which is officially 2 shillings per pound. All prices are valued in SP but the dominant physical note is the USh. Although the USD and the KSh are accepted, they are not as common as the USh. The SD is completely out of use in this area.

Table 8: Bank Notes of the Sudanese Dinar (SD)

SD Bank Notes	SD Value, as Translated in South Sudan
50	500
100	1,000
200	2,000
500	5,000
1,000	10,000

In Bahr el Ghazal, a conflict of interest is evident. For example, in northern BEG, which is the destination for traded goods, migrant labor, and remittances, the SD is the dominant currency. The SP cannot be used here because this would severely restrict trade with the bordering north, which is a major trade area. Use of the SD enables commercial accessibility to North Sudan. Currencies used in this region are the USD and SD: the latter tends to be the dominant currency.

In Rumbek, however, the situation is different. Rumbek is one area that was completely isolated from external communication during the outbreak of the current war. It was thus cut off from other areas, and the SP became the only currency available. For this reason, the SP remains the dominant currency today, though foreign currencies that are currently used include the USD, KSh and SD. The USh is accepted but, unlike in Yei, it is less common. The markets in Rumbek differ from others because the choice of currencies used is quite flexible. Trade in Rumbek provides a link to northern Bahr el Ghazal, where the SD is dominant. Therefore, traders in Rumbek will accept the SD (unofficially) so long as they can sell it to others who will use it in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Rumbek also trades with parts of Western Equatoria (especially Yei), where the SP is the official currency. Thus, in Rumbek the SP is used for exchange. The Kenyan Shilling tends to be the most common foreign currency primarily because Rumbek has strong ties to Kenya through the presence of international NGOs, whose headquarters and staff are in Nairobi.

7.1.3 Impact of the Use of Different Currencies on the Markets

Lack of Unity in the Markets

Generally, the use of different currencies is a major disadvantage because it leads to a lack of unity in the markets. This results from non-standardized exchange rates, as illustrated in Table 9.

It is a fact that goods are exchanged with (or flow into) the south through bordering markets like Uganda (mainly through Yei), Kenya (mainly through Rumbek) and northern Sudan (through northern BEG). The discrepancy in the exchange rates leads to a lack of uniformity of exchange values and, therefore, commodity prices. For example in Rumbek, the USh carries less value against the SP as compared to in Yei. In Rumbek, USh 10,000 would be worth SP 3,000 and in Yei SP 5,000. This means if Yei sold commodities imported from Uganda to Rumbek at its own exchange values, Rumbek would be at a loss (and vice versa) if Rumbek's values were used. A compromise would be for Rumbek to buy from Yei, at the Yei exchange rate, and then inflate the prices in Rumbek to make a profit. The implication here is that in the long run (when accessibility is enhanced), consumer choice might favor Yei over Rumbek for the goods imported from Uganda. The reverse is true: if both Rumbek and Yei can directly import from Uganda, traders from Uganda may not prefer to deal through Yei.

Restriction in the Flow of Trade: Dependence on Relief?

The use of different currencies can also affect the free flow of trade across the markets in the south. An example is seen in the trade connection between Rumbek (where the SD, the dominant currency in NBEG, is not officially accepted) and NBEG (where the SP, the official currency in Rumbek, is out of use). This conflict of interest restricts trade between the two areas.

Also, the accumulation of foreign currencies impedes the flow of trade in the south because these foreign currencies are then exported. This is made worse by the fact that the south does not export any commodities to earn the foreign currency. Moreover, the foreign currencies are not in circulation in all areas of the south and they are expensive to the local consumer.

Table 9: General Exchange Rate Against the USD in 3 Markets of South Sudan

Area	USD	SP	Ksh	Ush	SD
Rumbek	100	65,000	7,800	156,000	130,000
Northern Bahr El Ghazal	100	300,000	7,800	N/A	30,000
Yei	100	330,000	8,250	165,000	N/A

This restriction in the flow of trade could, in the long run, encourage dependence on relief for the supply of needed goods.

7.1.4 Confusion of Currency

The fact that prices are quoted in pounds and payments made in foreign currencies can be very misleading. For example in Yei, the US\$ 100 bill is just referred to as 50, meaning 50 SP. The fact that exchange rates are not standardized adds to this confusion. Where the SD is involved in trade transactions, this confusion becomes worse. For example, people are beginning to confuse the physical figures on the SD and refer to them as SP values. The 100 SD notes, which are equivalent to 1,000 SP, may be referred to as 100 SP, which can be very misleading.

7.2 SOUTH SUDAN'S PLANS FOR NEW CURRENCY

The Liberation Council of the South is in the process of producing a new currency for southern Sudan. A Technical Committee has been formed, which has already created a currency design, and printing is underway. Budgets are being established to facilitate salary payments. For example, plans to study and establish the size of the army are in progress. Plans for opening banks in the south are taking place, including the retraining of former qualified bankers. People will then be encouraged to deposit the old money for the government of the south to clear.

Recently, there has been talk of creating a commercial bank. In the Kenyan "Daily Nation," there was an article on a "Nile Commercial Bank" to be opened by the end of June 2003, followed by the circulation of new money shortly thereafter.

These plans are based on the following assumptions:

- All the people of the south support the introduction of the new currency,
- The use of other currencies will be allowed,

- The new money will be backed up by natural resources and commodities (oil, minerals, forest products, agriculture, and animals),
- These resources will make the new currency very strong.

The following are summarized views and suggestions from respondents:

- Standardize the rates of exchange,
- Establish central and commercial banks,
- Unify the currency, produce a money for the south,
- Adopt the SD because it is produced under the notion that money has nothing to do with war.

Team Reflections: Threats of the New Plans

These plans for a new currency are shadowed by major dilemmas: for example, how realistic are the assumptions that have been made regarding a new currency? Will everybody support the plans? How will the conflict of interest over the choice of currencies in the south be resolved? In northern Bahr el Ghazal, people recommended the adoption of the SD because it would allow for commercial accessibility to northern Sudan, which is a major trade route. However, in the areas where the SP is in use, people are convinced that the new money will settle the trade problem.

Will natural resources be available at the right time? How will the ongoing war and state of insecurity affect currency use? The proposed natural resources are still under dispute, which forms a major part of the war situation.

The Nile Commercial Bank is questionable too: how can there be a commercial bank without a central bank? Are the people of the south ready to make use of the facility at this point, given the degree of illiteracy and ignorance? Is it not too soon to open the bank by the end of June 2003 (or even within the next 1 or 2 years) given the confused prevalence of different currencies, the shortage in circulation of currencies, the

abundant prevalence of barter trade in most parts of the south and among its people, and the absence of a backing system (e.g. competitive exports)?*

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The assessment team confirms all the recommendations offered above by the respondents except for the last point regarding the production of a new Sudanese Pound versus the adoption of the Sudanese Dinar. The authorities of the south need to work out their currency plans carefully and base these on the best interest of the majority of the people. However, such plans should not jeopardize the livelihood of any particular group but should instead cater to the economic needs of all people in the south. There will thus need to be compromising provisions that will address everyone's interests.

*Editors' Note:

According to interviews with Nile Commercial Bank staff conducted in October 2003 by Curtis Slover (World Council of Credit Unions, Inc.) and Patrick Sommerville (Credit, Habitat, and Finance International), the Bank's staff stated that the Nile Commercial Bank began operations in February 2003. As of October 2003, there had been no external aid to the bank and the majority of shareholders were local and regional individuals. The Bank's authorized capital totaled USD \$1 million. Two thousand shares had been purchased at \$20 per share, totaling \$40,000. Forty deposit accounts had been established, totaling \$30,000. These accounts have a 10% compounding interest rate, though it was not clear whether this was on a monthly or annual basis. Depositors were not collecting interest during the first year of the Bank's operation (i.e. until February 2004). As of October 2003, there were KSh 4,141,000 for outstanding loans to approximately 36 borrowers. The interest rates for these loans were 10% for two weeks and 20% for one month. Traders of oil, coffee, and honey were the primary borrowers. The repayment rate was claimed to be at 100%. The Bank's overall priorities comprised of training and capital raising programs.

8

REVENUE

8.1 BACKGROUND

Collecting revenue in South Sudan is complicated primarily because the nature of the economy is informal. In Bahr el Ghazal, people garner income from a number of different activities throughout the year. Very few people, aside from those working for NGOs or

local authorities, have full time jobs whereby it would be easy to account for their annual income for taxation purposes. Throughout the year, the majority undertake a range of activities, such as farm and livestock production, off-farm production, labor, trade, and receiving gifts and livestock through marriage, which bring income to the family. The ability to be effective in many of these activities is strongly influ-

Table 10: Taxes Levied in Various Markets

Tax/Levy	Mode of Payment	Comments
Social and Liberation*	3,000 SP	Collected from household by Gol Leaders
	One small bull	Levied on all males between ages 18-70
	Two tins of cereal and one tin of pulses	Collected annually or monthly depending on the county. In Rumbek County it is levied annually. In Twic it is levied monthly.
Road and Passenger Taxes	Passenger - 1,000 SP	Collected on transit routes, e.g. Tonj has four taxation points.
	Road - 15,000 SP	In Tonj, traders are punished with 50 strokes of the cane if they default.
Sales Tax	Varies on type and origin of goods.	Collected daily from the selling points in the markets. In some markets (Rumbek) there are Regional, County and Army representatives, each collecting taxes.
Export Tax	Varies according to type of good, administrative structure, and different tax and revenue collection policies throughout the trade routes. For example, in Yei, taxes levied per cattle include Ush 1,000 (levied by the commissioner's office), USh 2,500 (by Ministry of Commerce and Supply), and Ush 5,599 as customs charges.	Levied, at points of exit, on all goods being exported to other countries.
Import Tax	In Yei, for instance, 10% tax is levied on profits from any imported products, 50% customs charges by the Commissioner's office, and 3% of the commercial invoice as the dispensation charges by the Ministry of Commerce and Supply.	Levied, at various points of entry, on all goods entering South Sudan.
Auction Tax	10% of the total cost of the animal distributed on a 50-50 basis between the seller and the buyer.	Collected by the SPLM Clerks at the various auction places in the markets.

* According to sources interviewed, this is the alternative to the Poll Tax which met with resistance in the past.

enced by the security situation and by environmental factors. Income can be received in both cash and commodities. Accumulated income is invested in cattle, which are kept in remote cattle camps, thus making it difficult to ascertain a family's assets.

The previous taxation system (under the GOS) included direct taxation through land tax, date tax, *ushur*²⁴, poll tax (levied on adult males) and tribute tax. These taxes were collected independently and not under the jurisdiction of one office. Indirect taxation included royalties on gum, tobacco, *dom*²⁵, timber, charcoal and firewood intended for trade purposes, and customs taxes on exports.²⁶ With the onset of the war, revenue collection in the insecure non-government held areas has ceased. With the recent advent of the development of markets, taxes on the trade sector are being applied.

Currently unified laws on revenue collection in South Sudan do not exist, thus, each county and payam has devised and institutionalized its own system for collecting revenue from the public. Taxation, contributions, fees, permits, licenses, and rents are the primary means of revenue collection for each county and payam, and each is discussed in the following section.

8.1.1 Types of Revenue

A. Taxation

Specific examples of various taxation methods are noted in Table 10.

B. Traders' Financial Contributions to Society

1) Police Welfare

When there is a threat or actual attack by the enemy, the traders are asked to contribute to the welfare of the army/police who are assigned to the Peace Markets. In addition, police officers are based in the markets on an almost permanent basis. The traders are obliged to contribute to these officers' welfare since they offer security. Moreover, because these policemen do not receive salaries from the authorities, they fully rely on the traders for subsistence.

The rates differ from market to market depending on the agreement between the traders and the police. For instance in Warawar, butchers contribute 6,000 SP (or meat equivalent) when there is a security incident. Also, they give meat on a regular basis to the police. In the Abien Dau Market, the butchers contribute meat on a weekly basis, while in the Warawar Market, the tobacco sellers each contribute 1,000 SP per week.

2) Security

This is levied in the Peace Markets, which face special security challenges from the GOS and the Murahallin militias. Amounts vary from market to market and often depend on what the individual traders can afford. However, some of the contributions to security are imposed. For example in Warawar any trader who opens his/her shop past 5:00 pm is charged 50 SP by the soldiers.

3) Wounded Soldiers

In most cases, all the money collected by the female tax collectors is used to help the war wounded. Women are also called upon, sometimes randomly, to cook for the soldiers at the frontline.

This contribution is sometimes levied from traders in transit while other times a special request is made to the traders. In these circumstances, either the head of the New Sudan Women's Association (NSWA) or the tax collector is charged with the responsibility of collecting the contribution from the traders.

4) Special Visitors

Traders are expected to contribute towards the accommodations for visitors. The contribution for this is either in kind or cash and is often collected by representatives from the Chamber of Commerce.

All of these demands are a burden for the average businessperson, and because of their irregularity, it is difficult to budget for them. It would ease the burden on the business people if the local authorities would review these erratic systems. Female traders have an extra challenge as they can be assigned to cook at the frontline at any time or may be required to look after

visitors. Consequently, their business activities may be interrupted for long periods of time.

C. Fees

Traders are also charged fees to be able to operate in the markets. These fees include:

1) Parking Fees

This is levied on trucks which have to overnight in a given location. The amount levied is 15,000 SP per truck.

2) Road Tolls

In Yei, traders are charged according to the tonnage of the truck used to import goods. This money is supposed to go towards road maintenance, though this seldom occurs.

D. Permits

These are levied at both the exit point from one payam and the entry point of the next. The levies are either in cash or kind. For instance, a trader is charged 3,000

SP and then 1,000 SP for every sack of groundnuts at the border of Akak and Wunrok in Twic County.

E. Licenses

A majority of the traders have to pay for licenses to operate in the markets. The licenses are issued by the county authorities and are valid for one calendar year. The traders are, however, given a grace period of up to the end of March each year, during which time they can renew their licenses. Failure to renew a license leads to a fine.

The license rates differ from market to market. The official rates are often lower than the rates charged, and an additional administration fee is often demanded. Information from the traders and the Chambers of Commerce indicated that those traders without licenses, or with expired licenses, were liable to pay the daily fees collected by the county authorities. In Rumbek these are set at 50 SP, although cases were reported whereby the charcoal sellers in the Rumbek Market were paying up to 200 SP a day in fines. Table 11 notes the costs of licenses in various markets.

Table 11: Examples of Licenses

Trade Type	License Cost (SD)					
	Abien Dau	Wunrok	Warawar	Rumbek	Panyok	Madhol
Teashop	21,000	21,000	21,000	6,000	20,000	20,000
Beer shop			21,000	15,000	20,000	
Restaurant	60,000	60,000	31,000			
Medicine shop	60,000	60,000	31,000		30,000	
General shop	30,000	25,000			21,000	
Butchery			31,000			
Tobacco			21,000			15,000
Clothes and other commodities			30,000		30,000	
Cereals					30,000	
Forestry				6,000		
International goods						30,000
Auctioneer						20,000
Bailer						20,000
Fish seller						10,000
Open market	15,000					10,000
Petty trader						1,000

In Warawar Market, some traders were charged up to SP 15,000 for what they referred to as a “half-license.” This, however, did not shield them from being harassed by the local authorities and neither did it guarantee them the protection of the Chamber of Commerce. Such traders are often not viewed as serious traders, and in some cases are not even permitted to build stalls.

In Yei, traders have to pay the following prices to obtain an import license: USD \$100 for registration, USD \$150 for an import certificate, and USD \$1,200 for the import license. This totals USD \$1,450, an amount that is hardly affordable for a majority of the traders.

Information from the Chamber of Commerce in Rumbek also indicates that traders without operating licenses are not eligible for the Chamber’s support. This means that these low-income traders are open to all sorts of harassment and abuse from the authorities. For instance, the Rumbek Market is currently undergoing restructuring and most of the traders have been forced to move out of their usual trading points. The Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce confirmed that there was little they could do to help the petty traders who had been moved to a marginalized

area of the market because such traders are not protected by the Chamber of Commerce’s mandate.

F. Rent

Rent is another strategy employed by the local authorities to collect revenue from the traders. In Rumbek, for instance, petty traders in the charcoal market are charged 200 SP daily to rent the sheds to sell their products (Box 7).

8.2 CONSTRAINTS

8.2.1 Irregular Revenue Collection System

Each region, county, and payam has its own system of revenue generation, which is attributed to the lack of a binding legal framework for revenue collection. The only available guidelines are from the Customs and Excise Duties Provisional Order of 2000 (Table 12). Traders are thus subjected to taxation as set by local authorities in the different areas.

8.2.2 Unauthorized Tax Collectors

In some of the markets, such as those in Rumbek, there were instances of self-appointed tax collectors taking advantage of the unformed traders.

Table 12: Guidelines from the Customs and Excise Provisional Order 2000

Chapter	Subject	Contents
1	Taxes	Travel Permits Vehicle Registration Firearms Road toll for foreign registration vehicles Personal income tax for Sudanese working with UN/NGOs Work permit for expatriates Aircraft landing Equipment registration/registration fees Driving license Commercial vehicle registration/license fees Profit tax - levied as 10% of business profit
2	Customs and Excise Duties	Imports Exports
3	Tax Allocation	Types of taxes and allocation to different units within the government

Box 7: Charcoal Sellers in the Rumbek Market

It costs a trader 1500 SP to buy a bag of charcoal. On bringing the charcoal to the open air market (which is used when one lacks a stall and licence to operate in the main market) the trader is charged 200 SP in taxes. It takes the trader an average of 4 days to clear the bag of charcoal and the 200 SP tax is levied daily. By the time the trader has finished selling the charcoal, they will have paid a total of 800 SP (an equivalent of 53% of revenue) in taxes. This is in addition to the daily charges for using the open air space to sell their charcoal, which is also 200 SP per day. This brings the total amount of taxes and levies on one bag of charcoal to 106% SP of revenue.

It was also evident that the charcoal sellers do not pass on the expense of the revenues to the charcoal buyers by factoring them into the price. They reason that this would make the charcoal too expensive and would incur the risk of losing customers. Furthermore, some of the revenues are so random that if the prices of charcoal were to be based on them, there would not be a stable charcoal price even for one week.

Since the traders do not receive receipts to acknowledge remittance of taxes, it is not unusual for a different collector to demand taxes again. The traders have no option but to pay again. This gives rise to cases of double taxation. This is so rampant that when asked if they receive receipts for the daily taxes, some traders simply laughed, implying it is not in the interest of the tax collectors to issue receipts.

8.2.3 Irregular Tax Exemptions

According to the Customs and Excise Duties Provisional Order of 2000, the following items have been exempted from tax (the basis for the exemptions is, however, not explained in the document):

- Seedlings
- Chalk
- Balls
- Sportswear
- Wheelchairs
- Agricultural tools
- Workbooks and files

Tax exemption has been extended to the beneficiaries of the STAR loans in Rumbek. This gives an added advantage to those who are already being subsidized.

8.2.4 High and Multiple Revenues

Due to the numerous taxes, there are instances where contributions and fees greatly reduce the profitability of the business. Oftentimes, the traders (especially the petty traders) work at a loss.

8.2.5 Trade Route Taxation

Traders are overtaxed on the different trade routes, which is illustrated in Table 13.

Commodity	Cost per unit (SP)	Tax levied (SP)		Recommended Tax (Provisional Order 2000)		Percent of over-taxation
		Details	Total	Percent (%)	Value(SP)	
Soap	12,000 (per carton)	2,000 in Abyei 1,000 in Mabior Kout	3,000	5	600	500
Sugar	100,000 (per 50 kg bag)	4,000 in Abyei 16,000 in Mabior Kout	20,000	5	5,000	400
Onions	75,000 (per 25 kg bag)	5,000 in Abyei 25,000 in Mabior Kout	30,000	15	11,250	267
Tea leaves	60,000 (per 50 kg bag)	2,000 in Abyei 8,000 in Mabior Kout	10,000	10	6,000	167

8.2.6 Accountability

There is no official document issued to the traders acknowledging receipt of their taxes. This exposes the traders to abuse by the tax collectors and leads to cases of double taxation, as traders cannot show proof that they have already remitted the required tax.

8.2.7 Other Constraints

- The local authorities do not keep records of actual revenue collected.
- Traders do not receive services in return for the revenue they remit. For instance, most markets lack storage facilities and toilets.
- There is no clear channel for traders to resolve revenue-related grievances.
- Traders are not aware of their rights in regard to revenue remission.

8.3 DISCUSSION

Generally speaking, the revenue generation system should be streamlined to achieve equity, convenience, and certainty:

Equity

A revenue generating system should be fair to all the concerned parties. There may be different and even conflicting interpretations from various people on what is fair and equitable, but the emphasis recommended here is to base revenue on the ability of the remitter to pay and to implement progressive taxation. This will require the local authorities in the northern BEG re-

gion to document the incomes of the different traders and thereby determine the kinds of revenues to be levied. This is especially practical in taxation, which should be based on the personal income of the taxpayer.

Convenience

The method of payment should be convenient for the traders. It is not unusual for traders to lament that they do not favor paying taxes on commodities. They believe that this makes them pay more taxes than necessary, and it also inconveniences them since they have to buy and carry one or more extra unit(s) of a commodity 'for the revenue man.' For instance, a trader who brings in two bags of sugar has to surrender one sack to the revenue collector as a tax. If the security of the market is threatened, a trader has to contribute security fees even though s/he may not have sold anything the whole day. Some traders may contribute from their commodities, but what of the trader who has only brought one cattle to the auction and is now required to contribute to security? Does he slaughter the animal and give a part of it, or does he give away the whole live animal? He may not find a place to sell the meat if he slaughters the animal. Would it not be better to allow the trader time to contribute towards tax payments and security fees at his convenience?

Certainty

The revenue payer needs to know what, when, where and how to remit the revenue. This not only ensures tax evasion, but also helps the trader plan and allocate for tax collection. The local authorities should therefore develop a unified revenue collection policy.

Table 14: Disbursement of Revenue

Department	Percent
Army	60
County	20
Region	8
SPLM	2
Town Council	10

Source: Taxation Office, Rumbek

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Official receipts should be issued to the traders for all levies they remit.
- The local authority should work with the Chamber of Commerce and give it the proper mandate to be able to represent the grievances of the traders concerning unfair revenue remittances.
- A body should be formed, preferably through the Chamber of Commerce, to provide information to all traders (especially the petty traders) on their rights regarding revenue remittance.
- License fees should be harmonized within each county. This information should be made public so that traders can be protected from extortionists.
- Licenses should enable petty traders to trade without daily and undue interference from the local authorities.
- Existing revenue collection policies should be reviewed and new policies should be developed, when needed.
- Revenue collection should include a provision of services to the traders. This could be accomplished through the Chamber of Commerce.
- Revenue collecting officials should undertake training.
- Revenue should be levied in proportion to the income of the individual traders. In addition, the local authorities could introduce incentives to encourage business growth.
- Revenue should be disbursed in a manner that ensures that the traders benefit. The current disbursement schedule does not seem to take this into account (Table 14).

Before the war, people could obtain loans through brokers in Wau and Awiel and from Bank Alagric. For small industries, it was possible to get loans from the Industrial Bank of Sudan but this was easier in the urban areas and the system did not cover traditional industries. Regional authorities in the south instituted a capital loans scheme in 1975 to encourage southerners to take up trading. For the most part, this program failed, which indicated that people lacked the capacity to understand and manage loans. With the recommendation of a chief, a man would be given fifty sacks of sorghum to start his business. Most recipients, however, sold the grain and bought cows to enable them to marry more women. Later, in 1982, the Sudan Rural Development Company, Ltd. was formed to extend credit to the rural areas. It was also possible to get loans in the more rural areas from traders and through *Selafia* loans.

Currently, one of the largest constraints to the development of production and marketing systems in South Sudan is access to financial resources. People need to have access to credit throughout the year in order to sustain their households, meet unexpected expenses, utilize their own labor, purchase farming products, or finance the storage and/or transport of their produce. It may also help them retain their own farm production until a time of year when selling prices are more beneficial. Low incomes are a result of a combination of low agricultural yields and unfavorable pricing and marketing systems.²⁷ It is also, in part, symptomatic of a cultural reluctance to enter into the livestock trade in a commercial manner. If people were prepared to trade their livestock, they may not need a loan in the first place. The money gained would also enable them to generate more wealth. Some youth said that they would be willing to sell livestock to start a business but were prevented from doing so because removing cows from the cattle camp exempts one from dowry contributions by other members of the camp.

9.1 ACCESS TO CREDIT AND LOANS

The war disrupted the limited access southerners had to credit. For the majority, the only available access to credit has been borrowing from friends and kin. If a young man needs credit, it has to be borrowed against the value of a cow and, even then, he needs to find a guarantor to vouch for his character. If he is lucky, a relative may give him a bull which he could sell in Wau. Even with the risks of insecurity and the many SPLA and government taxes, it is possible to get as much as 700,000 SP in Wau for a first class bull, whereas in Warawa it would only sell for around 300,000 SP.

9.1.1 Informal Credit Systems

The arrangements are made without any formal documents. A witness is, however, a vital part of the arrangement. The most prevalent are commodity loans, where a trader “borrows” goods from another trader (generally from a wholesaler). To access this type of loan in the Peace Markets, a trader has to be guaranteed by either the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce or the Peace Committee. Our findings indicate that women often use this loan service for borrowing small quantities of goods. The most common commodities loaned are sugar and tea for teashops. The loan is either repaid at the end of the day or at another time agreed upon by the borrower and lender. The Chamber of Commerce Chairman guarantees the loan and ensures that it is repaid. The repayment is always interest free.

There are also instances where an individual who needs money to start a business gives goods (mostly local produce) to another trader in return for cash. The trader then sells the goods to recover his money or the first individual returns the money after a given time and reclaims his goods.

Benefits for the borrower and the lender under the informal credit system include the following:

- The trader need not necessarily have a stall/stand in the market, thus avoiding license and/or daily fees,
- The borrower and lender tend to strike up a beneficial relationship whereby the borrower will regularly return to the same lender, thereby fostering trust. In turn, the lender will be provided with a regular, steady trading outlet,
- The trader may not have the time to sit in the market to sell his goods. In this instance, he can pass these goods onto another trader, thereby allowing him to leave,
- The trader does not need to transport the goods to the market since they are brought to him/her.

Commodity goods and loan advancements by relatives:

Livestock and grain are the most common examples of commodity loans. In Aweil East, mothers often lend capital to their sons to start a business. Commodity loans among family members are explained in the following scenarios:

- Polygamy: When a man takes more than one wife he will expect the older wives to provide for their household's needs. A wife will then foster every opportunity to do this to secure the future of her children and herself. This may necessitate engaging her children in agricultural activities since there is no future guarantee of care from the husband.
- Lack of trust in the husband: Most of the women said experience has taught them never to entrust their money to their husbands.
- Return on investment: Educating children is regarded as being of limited value as there are no immediate returns. The women would therefore rather invest in starting businesses for their sons than in enrolling them in school. Indeed, schooling is seen to 'tie-up' money as the benefits may only be realized when the son finishes school several years later. Ideally, a woman would have three

sons: one would go to the cattle camp, another to school, and the third would become a trader.

9.1.2 Formal Credit Systems

Formal credit systems are institutionalized credit arrangements whereby the lending and borrowing terms are stipulated to both parties. The assessment revealed that apart from the STAR program in the Lakes (Rumbek) and Equatoria (Yei) regions (which is part of the 'Peace Through Development Initiative'), there are no formal lending systems in South Sudan with the exception of those in the garrison towns.

Box 8: Peace Through Development (Track III)

This is one of the SPLM's peace programs for the resolution of the Sudan conflict. The idea is that while the negotiations for political settlement between the SPLM and the GOS through the IGAD peace process (Track I) and through the NDA (Track II) are ongoing, efforts should also be channeled towards socio-economic development of South Sudan and the provision of services to the civil population.

The initiative works through development assistance from USAID aimed at rehabilitation of economic structures and institutions in South Sudan. The Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) in Western Equatoria gave birth to the Sudan Transitional Assistance for Rehabilitation (STAR) program.

The STAR program is currently limited to Western Equatoria and the Lakes region, alienating the communities in Bahr el Ghazal from such assistance. Catholic Relief Services (CRS), through the County Development Committee (CDC) and Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency (BYDA), are implementing the project in Rumbek County.

The Sudan Transitional Assistance for Rehabilitation (STAR) program has been implemented in two phases. Phase I entailed direct disbursement of the loan to the beneficiaries through the donor. Phase II saw the management of the scheme entrusted to a local NGO, which has advanced loans to six groups, each con-

sisting of five beneficiaries. One of the groups has had tremendous success. This success is attributed to the following factors, which are also important learning points for organizations intending to start micro-finance projects in South Sudan:

- 1) The beneficiaries each received individual loans, which they voluntarily pooled together.
- 2) The beneficiaries utilized skills they already had so as to start a business.
- 3) The beneficiaries were already pooling their resources together in a *sanduk*, which gave them a common bond.
- 4) The beneficiaries started an income-generating activity to meet a real need that was identified within the society. Hence they obtained the advantage of an assured market.

Other factors (though debatable) that have contributed to the success of this group may include the following:

- 1) They were socially well-placed by the fact that they previously had financial resources.
- 2) They are heavily subsidized. For instance:
 - a) The local authorities gave them land on which to build their business premises.
 - b) They received business management support free of charge from one of the officers from the lending organization.
 - c) They have been exempt from taxation for a period of three years from the time of the disbursement of the loan. They have taken advantage of this to import products tax free.

The Creativity and Enterprising Nature of the Group

The Christian Women's Empowerment Network (CWEN) lends money to individuals and small groups in the Yei Market. It has extended its lending and grant giving services to Rumbek (through a loan given to Konyrot Women's Group) and to Yambio. CWEN supports itself through gardening and selling sand.

Limiting Factors to the Current Loan Scheme (STAR)

At present, various groups experience limited access to credit. The beneficiaries are concentrated in the urban areas. Seventy percent of the rural women we interviewed were not aware of the loan scheme. Of the 30% who were informed, 67% assumed it was only meant for rich women. The following are factors which have limited full implementation of STAR:

- a) Marginalization of certain ethnic groups: Information from the local authorities indicated that the STAR program does not encourage potential beneficiaries from different regions to receive the loans. For instance in Rumbek, traders from Western Equatoria said they had been advised to go back to their region if they wished to receive loans from the STAR program.
- b) Unclear lending terms: The consequences of defaulting may not be made clear to the borrowers. Statistics from the Finance Office in Rumbek indicate that in Phase I of the STAR program, five groups received loans to be repaid within three years. The total amount of money loaned was \$79,000, averaging \$15,800 per group. This is the third year that the groups received the money and currently only 17% of the total loan amount has been repaid, an average of 1% repayment per group per year. Despite the low repayment rates, no duress action has been levied on the groups. In fact, one of the groups complained that they were not given sufficient loans to cover all their needs.
- c) Lack of adequate follow-up with the loan beneficiaries: Poor business and loan-management skills among the beneficiaries could be a contributing factor to the high rates of loan defaulting.
- d) Unclear criteria on the selection of the beneficiaries and group formation: The formation of the groups was random and most of the beneficiaries in the groups confess to having very little in common (apart from the loan) and the business they had to start together to utilize the loan.

- e) Poor understanding of the market: For example, in the case of the Lulu oil production, the project overproduced oil which the market was not able to absorb due to reliance on an artificial market. The Lulu project officers needed to encourage and facilitate the women to do a market assessment to ensure a sustainable market for the Lulu oil.

9.2 CONSTRAINTS

The biggest impact of the informal credit systems has been that the poor are able to access affordable capital for business start-ups and improvements. However, it is clear that accessing capital is not easy for traders from the south because there are no formal credit systems in some markets, and where they do exist, they are out of reach for the poorer business people.

The common trend in the Peace Markets is that the female traders more often get commodity loans from the Missiriya than from fellow Dinkas. This is interesting as it either demonstrates the cultural belief that Dinka women should not interact with any man other than their husband or relative (but they are interacting with the Missiriya), or that the Dinka men are either not willing or cannot afford to lend to their women.

The formal credit lending system has had the following impacts on trade:

- a) It has reinforced marginalization of the poor traders since they are not able to formally access credit. The current phase being implemented by a local NGO has further reinforced alienation of the poor in that the criterion for lending focuses on 'business growth.' This has automatically eliminated the poorer business people who need initial credit.
- b) It has reinforced the alienation of some regions. For instance, in the northern BEG region, the STAR program has not been implemented.

- c) It seems to be encouraging regionalism even in business. In Rumbek, for example, traders from other regions who cannot access credit have resorted to supporting each other and are not willing to support traders from other regions.

9.3 DISCUSSION

Advancing credit to traders in the Peace Markets has to be approached very carefully and creatively. One issue is that any intervention targeting the Peace Markets has to be specific so as to promote equity. The overriding objective for any such intervention should be to promote peaceful coexistence among all the stakeholders. The peaceful coexistence in the Peace Markets is currently fragile and any intervention that would seem to give one stakeholder advantage over another can easily work against the wider peace.

When it comes to credit advancement, an organization has to ensure that the strategy for recovering the loan is well laid out. One of the ways to ensure loan repayment is to have guarantors. However, this is problematic within the Peace Markets. The local authorities indicate that they are not willing to be guarantors to the Missiriya: they simply do not trust them beyond the Peace Markets. This is a tricky scenario given that 90% of the Missiriya traders we interviewed indicated that they are ready and willing to apply for loans if a program is introduced.

Recommendations from the Traders

Most of the traders interviewed in the Peace Markets suggested that they would prefer a scenario whereby a Management Committee consisting of the traders, local authorities, international organizations working in the community, and the SINGO that is implementing the program all oversee the credit program. The local authorities also confirmed that this is the ideal model to follow in establishing and implementing a loaning scheme. The intricacies of this would have to be carefully thought out by the parties involved.

Some of the reasons given for advocating this kind of arrangement include:

- a) Mistrust of SINGOs by the local community.
- b) The Missiriya do not feel certain that their interests will be fully represented by a SINGO.
- c) The local authorities feel left out of programs since the SINGOs do not make a deliberate effort to involve them.

9.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations highlight methods of monitoring and tracking loan disbursements:

- Identify ways of availing loans to all categories of traders,
- Disseminate information on the availability of loans,
- Provide training on loan and business management to the beneficiaries before advancing the loans,
- Monitor the beneficiaries by the loaning agency,
- Design clear terms of lending,
- Charge appropriate interest rates on loans to cover the administrative costs of the lending organization,
- Work in collaboration with the local authorities to ensure that the lending agreement is regarded as binding by the borrowers,
- Encourage and motivate the local community to initiate merry-go-round loaning systems.

The Role of Chambers of Commerce on Credit Issues

A Chamber of Commerce/Traders Union was found in all the markets that we visited. Over 80% of the traders we interviewed are aware of the Chamber of Commerce, and they have benefited from its conflict resolution services. As this seems to be the only organized body of traders in the markets, the Chamber should be incorporated within the design of a credit system. Already, the group acts as a guarantor of loans for traders. For instance, women who have benefited from commodity loans state that the Chair of the Chamber of Commerce always acted as their guarantor. Aside from this duty, the Chamber can contribute in the following ways:

- Following up on the loans: This is a role that the Chamber of Commerce is already undertaking by monitoring the borrowers and ensuring that they repay the loans,
- Providing education on loan management: Since traders recognize the Chambers of Commerce, educational programs for traders can be channeled through the Chambers.

Before working with the Chamber of Commerce in this way, however, much needs to be done to streamline the structure, mandate, vision, and mission of each Chamber of Commerce.

For instance, the officials would have to be bona fide male and female business people (participation by traders from all business levels should be encouraged) who enjoy majority support. In the Peace Markets, the officials would have to be drawn from both major stakeholder groups, the Dinka and the Missiriya.

Finally, the participation of the local authorities in the Management Committee for the credit scheme would have to be carefully and purposefully streamlined to ensure that the political agenda does not override the development agenda.

10.1 BACKGROUND

South Sudan is criss-crossed by a network of trade routes linking southern towns and bordering countries. The development of commercial fishing in the 1950s resulted in large profits which were made from the exportation of sun-dried salted fish from the Sudd fisheries to what was then the Belgian Congo. These fish exports entered the Belgian Congo mainly through Juba, and some exports were taken north to Gezira. Simultaneously, the cattle trade was expanding northwards and southwards to East Africa from Bahr el Ghazal and from Bor to Juba and beyond. There were also various commodities such as tea, coffee, and timber which were transported to the north. The usual methods of transport were by truck, barge, bicycle, or portage.

During the British Condominium, the chiefs were responsible for mobilizing their people to maintain the roads during the dry season, and they could be prosecuted for failing to do so. Roads were closed in the wet season to protect them from damage. By the early 1980s, there were a number of all-season roads in Western Ecuatoria. However with the impact of war, floods, and economic and administrative neglect, the roads have deteriorated badly and all but disappeared in some areas. In 1980, the Dutch government stepped in and funded some all weather roads, using laterite soil to surface them. They also financed a road maintenance unit that operated from Bor. Two particularly important Dutch-funded roads linked Bor with Juba, and Juba with Uganda (via Nimule).

In the 1970s, young, educated Dinka and Nuer men started to establish themselves as traders in grain and consumer goods. Some started their businesses from livestock sales, with the purpose of buying more cows with their profits in order to marry more women. They started shops, but the main constraint to their suc-

cess was that the control of road transport and wholesaling was predominantly in the hands of the northern Sudanese merchants.²⁸ Southern regional authorities instituted a capital loans scheme in 1975 to encourage trading. Though this failed, the granting of trucks instead of grain was found to be successful since the grain was sold to buy livestock for more wives. It indicated that marriage, not profit-making, was the primary motive for obtaining credit. The war gave the Dinka an opportunity to fill the gap left by the merchants and allowed the Dinka and Nuer to break into grain import and cattle export trade arena. Personal links with merchants in the north facilitated success.

10.2 TRANSPORTATION SITUATION TODAY

The transportation situation today is critical: the roads are barely, if at all, maintained. NGOs and the World Food Program, which provide tools and food for work, usually instigate road repairs. One of the main objectives for this work is to improve the roads in order to allow for the transport of relief goods during the dry season. Traders benefit by hiring the relief trucks (on the return journey) to transport goods such as sesame, honey, groundnuts, finger millet, gold and teak to Uganda. There is a direct route through Tambura, Yambio, Maridi, Mundri and Yei. Traders from Rumbek, who obtain their goods from Koboko, Arua or Kampala (Uganda), transport their goods in groups, using hired lorries from the Sudanese companies Bros.Transport Company, Track Oil, and individual lorries owned by Ugandans, Congolese and people from Aweil. Informants report that an excessive amount of taxes and levies has to be paid en route.

Because of the poor state of the roads, the majority of relief items for northern Bahr el Ghazal have to be air lifted, which is an extremely expensive operation, but a necessity during the rainy season.

Access to Bahr el Ghazal from the north is limited to the railway line from Khartoum to Wau and the Nile waterways. The main roads are little more than tracks. The few vehicles are those used in military operations, the occasional private transport hired by traders and those used by relief agencies. The use of vehicles is restricted during the rainy season, which renders the majority of tracks impassable and the rivers unfordable. The main methods of transport are foot, bicycle, canoe, and donkey. In Western Equatoria, road transport is more common, and in the north, camels are used. Cattle are trekked huge distances to Uganda and to the north, but this can only be done at the start of the rains when there is grazing land and available water, and before the route becomes bogged. Government supplies and relief items from the international community are moved from the north by barge, train, or plane. This happens infrequently and is always accompanied by instability as the opportunity is taken to move military hardware from Khartoum. On the return journey, rustled livestock and firewood, and in some cases slaves, are the cargo.

10.3 CONSTRAINTS

Today, transport problems are a major deterrent to trade in the whole of South Sudan. Peace Markets, which are particularly important to long-distance trade from North Sudan and East Africa, are dependent on a fragile and inefficient infrastructure. The northern traders who obtain their goods from Khartoum, El Obeid or Nyala, transport their goods by car up to Meiram, the last government town bordering the south, and then smuggle their goods through the bush using hired donkeys, camels and bicycles.

Many transport companies are not interested in transporting goods to southern Sudan because of the appalling condition of the roads and the fear of landmines and ambushes. Those who are prepared to risk their vehicles charge extremely high rates. Table 15 provides examples of transportation costs for Koboko, Uganda.

Table 15: Cost of Transport

Tonnage	Cost in US\$
6 tons	3,000
15 tons	5,000
30 tons	10,000

During the wet season, traders are not able to transport their goods up to Aweil East by road. Instead, they end their road journey in Mayen Rual Market on the border of Tonj and Gogrial. From here, the traders use bicycles up to Malual Angui, then hire porters to Gogrial because the area is swampy. From Gogrial to Aweil East, the traders again use bicycles. Problems affecting the transport of goods from Uganda to northern Bahr el Ghazal include the following:

- Seasonal and dilapidated roads,
- Delays and mismanagement of time,
- Damage of goods,
- Breakdown and damage of trucks,
- Lack of spare parts for vehicles,
- Lack of bridges,
- High costs,
- Insecurity,
- Lack of transportation investment,
- Lack of ox/donkey carts,
- High fuel costs,
- Multiple taxation and levies to be paid at different points of the journey, especially in Tonj County.

There are additional problems and challenges facing the Missiriya in the transportation of their goods.

These are explained below:

- Due to insecurity on the way to Warawar, the traders have to travel through the bush to avoid army and militia who are deployed at the border to arrest those involved in business without the knowledge and consent of the government,

- Hiring of draught animals is expensive during the rainy season,
- Sufficient quantities of goods are difficult to import and export,
- A lack of water on the route to Meiram makes the trekking of cows from Warawar to the north difficult,
- Year-round trade is not possible because of seasonal conditions,
- Lack of ox-carts makes the transportation of goods difficult,
- Transportation of goods from Meiram to Warawar takes 10 days during the rainy season.

10.4 DISCUSSION

The lack of an adequate transport network has a crippling effect on trade and its expansion. It also has huge ramifications for the agricultural industry, where the increase in production of both crops and livestock has been met with a stagnant market because of the lack of means to move produce from areas of surplus to areas of need. The cost of goods is high because of the risks that the transport companies take in bringing the trucks into southern Sudan, in addition to the expenses incurred en route through maintenance, repairs, taxation, and other levies (official or otherwise). Livestock traders going to Uganda face a host of problems, with animals wearing thin en route the primary concern. Lack of adequate grazing and water points and poorly managed holding pens (where there is a backlog of animals waiting to cross the border), makes animals vulnerable to disease. Missiriya traders moving animals to the north are constrained by the seasonal availability of grazing land and water.

Though the truck owners and drivers complained about the taxes, they also agreed that they would not object so much if they felt the revenue was being used to improve the roads and transport facilities.

Some traders said they could buy their own trucks but it would be a waste of money since the poor roads would destroy them.

Road repairs are executed through international funding, and the revenue extracted at the roadside is largely unaccounted for. It is of paramount importance to the southern administration and its people to develop a comprehensive road network. To be dependent on international support is not a sustainable practice. It has become almost impossible for chiefs to mobilize their people to work on improving the roads as a community contribution. The network needs to be subsidized by all users directly or indirectly. A clear and accountable system should be established whereby roadside tax revenue is used for road maintenance and the construction of new roads.

Local transport, in the form of donkey/ox, handcarts, and bicycles, should be encouraged and developed. The carts should be appropriate for use by both men and women. These are cheap and effective methods of transport with a large range of uses.

10.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The assessment regarding transportation issues includes the following recommendations:

- The SPLM administration should develop a transport strategy to address the problem of poor conditions of roads and bridges,
- International support for road building and repairs should only be undertaken when there is a clear strategy from the administration as to how future maintenance costs will be met,
- Research into cheap and appropriate local transport facilities should be undertaken,
- Loans should be provided to individuals and groups of traders to purchase or hire trucks or other local means of transportation (i.e., carts),

- The SPLM administration should establish a clear and accountable taxation system where the revenue can be used for road maintenance,
- The removal of all illegal tax points on the route to northern Bahr el Ghazal should be a priority,
- Investment in the transport sector by entrepreneurs (including the sale of spare parts and maintenance workshops) should be encouraged,
- NGOs and individuals in northern Bahr el Ghazal should introduce ox/donkey/handcarts to assist traders in transporting their goods, especially in areas where large vehicles cannot pass,
- Local craftspeople should be trained to construct appropriate transport facilities,
- Individuals should be trained as mechanics,
- Facilities for livestock trekking should be improved (i.e. water areas should be constructed).

This section considers the impact of relief activities on trade in the areas visited during the assessment and the influence of relief efforts on Peace Markets.

11.1 PERCEPTIONS

In Bahr el Ghazal, wealth is equated with the size of one's herd. Livestock is a savings, an investment only to be sold, exchanged, or slaughtered when needed for a social function, herd improvement, or in times of extreme stress. Dinka people do not have a tradition of being traders or business people and in the current war situation, they have a natural reluctance to convert their assets into money to invest in business for fear of losing the money. In some cases, this becomes a type of hoarding, sometimes at the expense of the family's well being. In assessments it is common for key informants, when embarking on a wealth ranking exercise, to say everyone is poor, and, thus, it can be difficult to encourage people to talk about different levels of wealth. This makes identification of beneficiaries and needs complicated. It is also believed that when relief is brought to an area, everyone is entitled to part of it, regardless of need. This makes the process of understanding the impact of intervention complex since, by the time everything is equitably shared, the intended beneficiaries may end up with a fraction of what was allocated for them. What little they receive may be partly used to repay debts owed to members of their complex kinship system or friends.

Trade of relief items is normal, particularly of high value commodities such as mosquito nets and fishing equipment. It is common for these items to be exchanged or sold to acquire other goods as needed. This does not mean the beneficiary does not need a mosquito net but, at the time, they may have other priorities such as food or medicine. A more serious problem is the misappropriation of relief goods, which

then end up in the market. When NGO and UN staff are in the market it is common for traders to try to conceal the relief goods since it is believed that if they are seen it will reduce the likely future delivery of such commodities. Thus, the challenge facing relief agencies concerns the best mechanism to deliver assistance to intended beneficiaries, given the constraints that both national and international NGO staff and the local administration face. There are no easy answers to this. 'The South Sudan Vulnerability Study' looks at these issues in detail and "aims to establish the difference between a system that sees vulnerable people as the responsibility of institutions, and another system which sees them as being the responsibility of people and families."

Some of the most common commodities that are distributed by relief agencies include seeds (i.e. sorghum, maize, sesame, groundnuts, and vegetable), food items (oil, grains, and pulses), equipment (agricultural tools, water pumps, ploughs, oil presses, grinding mills, and fishing equipment), and other items, such as medicine for both people and animals. Relief services such as health programs, veterinary services, agricultural extension, and capacity building are also provided.

11.2 THE EFFECTS OF RELIEF EFFORTS ON TRADE

The examples below clearly demonstrate that the impact of relief can have both positive and negative, direct and indirect effects on trading activities.

11.2.1 Physical

In Twic County, one of the challenges affecting the markets is lack of adequate amenities including water pumps, toilets and waste disposal facilities. Even though an NGO had installed a water pump in a local market, this did not seem to solve the problem. During interviews with traders in the Abien Dau Market

for instance, the fact that this particular NGO had constructed the water pump was well appreciated and yet the following comment was also made:

“We do not understand why the NGO built only one water pump for the entire market yet they know the market is big and has many traders.”

This is a clear indication that the traders do not feel ownership of the water pump project, hence they are blaming the NGO for the lack of adequate water pumps and not questioning their own roles and responsibilities in the provision of water. The traders also had the same complaint towards another local organization running a WATSAN (water and sanitation) program. It was assumed that this organization, not the market users themselves, was responsible for constructing latrines in the markets. There is a need for additional water pumps and for construction of toilets in all the markets visited during the assessment, but the traders are not showing any willingness to contribute towards this.

11.2.2 Infrastructure

Interviews with the local authorities in Rumbek concerning the poor state of the roads and the effect this has on trade also revealed a heavy reliance on relief:

“Relief agencies have to participate in constructing and maintaining the roads: they are the ones who face the difficulties of the poor roads while bringing in relief!”

This is the response from the Rumbek local authorities on the poor state of the roads. It seems that as long as relief keeps coming in, the relief agencies will be expected to be responsible for taking care of the roads. As we know, the roads are already used for private enterprise, which begs the question, what happens when relief ceases?

11.3 EXPLOITATION AND OPPORTUNISM

Assuming that every businessperson is motivated by the need to make profits, one has to distinguish between real and unrealistic profits. Relief in the hands of traders contributes to unrealistic profits. For instance, traders who sell relief goods (wheat, oil, and mosquito nets) at the local price have an obvious advantage over the trader who has to obtain such products in the normal manner, as they will not have incurred the same costs. Misappropriation of relief items is common and causes tension between agencies and the community. It can also lead to serious undercutting of prices and undermining of local production in favor of cheaper relief items. This is a problem for those who have been undercut and who may not be able to recover their costs. On the other hand, it can be beneficial to the consumer.

Organizations introduce commodity injection schemes, often on a cost recovery basis, to increase the supply of basic goods and reduce the exploitative prices being charged locally. This is directed at creating a more competitive market, which will provide goods to more people and expand trade exponentially. Historically, in Sudan there has been a monopolistic market dominated by big northern merchants. Attempts at breaking these cartels have often led to the import of commodities, ironically, in which Sudan is self-sufficient. There are similarities to the present situation in the south, except the importers of the goods are the relief agencies.

Cooperatives have been established in many areas and relief organizations have entered into contracts with them to purchase their produce, such as seeds, for redistribution. This, in theory, is a sound idea and seems to work relatively well. The actual process,

however, tends to encourage an elitism whereby the cooperative appears to operate more like a middleman. The cooperative has a monopoly on the organization's market, which has often been established by the local authorities. The Chairman sells the majority of the quota. The farmers themselves are a select group of beneficiaries of the inflated prices organizations pay. The system denies independent farmers the opportunity of trading with organizations and prohibits competitiveness.

One respondent complained that an NGO had not purchased all of their produce, which was to be redistributed locally. On being asked why the group did not then sell it in the market, the response was "People do not need to buy it. They already have their own seeds."

This makes one wonder about the appropriateness of the intervention. The organization clearly had good intentions of using seeds purchased from farmers for local use but it would seem that they were misguided. A common assumption is made that distribution of seeds and tools is the only way to increase production. It can be quite surprising how these items can appear spontaneously with a developed trading network.

11.3.1 Artificial Markets

Inflexible programs can undermine the community's motivation and initiative to market products. For example, this can occur when an organization gives seeds to farmers with the purpose of buying the produce for distribution as relief. When this happens, the farmers do not need to look for markets for their products, as an artificial market has been created and this leads to dependency on the organization. If subsequently the situation changes, the organization does not buy the produce and it is not possible for the farmers to transport it to areas of need, there will be a flooded market with an unwanted surplus which will have to be stored or wasted.

In Twic, for instance, an NGO gave rice seeds to the community to plant. During the assessment, it was revealed that a large portion of the community harvests the rice and stores it in their houses until the organization buys it from them. None of the traders interviewed were willing to sell the rice before the organization gives them the go-ahead, having been offered overly-inflated prices by the NGO.

Diagram 1: Effects of Relief Distribution on Trade

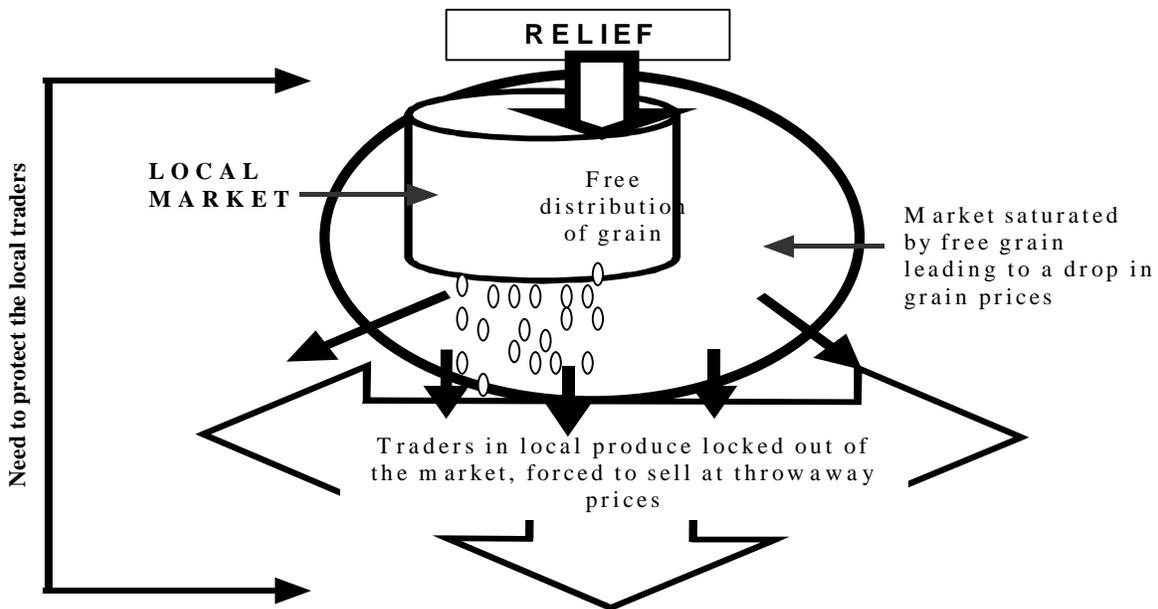
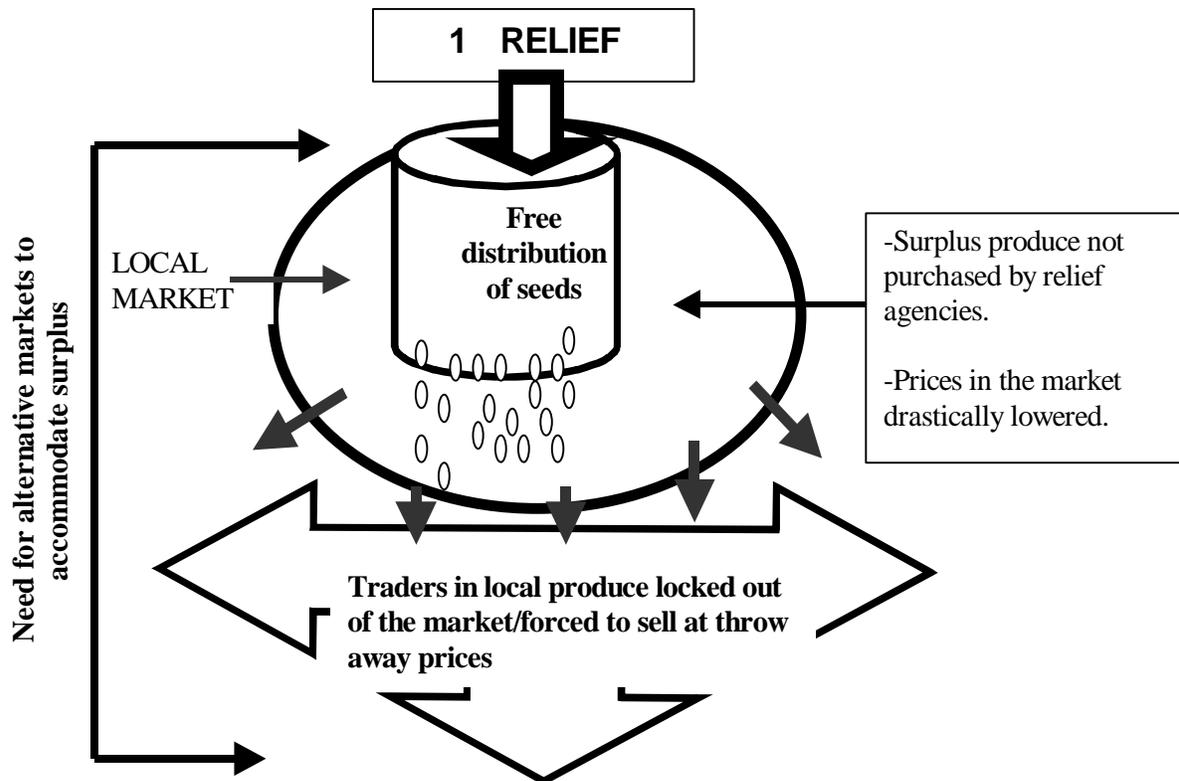


Diagram 2: Effect of Artificial Markets on Local Traders



11.3.2 Lack of Market Outlets

Examples were cited where local farmers have been encouraged to increase production by NGOs. This was achieved in many cases, though problems arose where the marketing infrastructure was not adequate to deal with the surplus produced.

11.3.3 Lack of Credit

Poor credit disbursement and management can lead to discrimination. Interviews with a local NGO in Rumbek that disburses credit to traders indicated that relief has affected both the disbursement criteria and the way the business people view the loans:

"We are not ready to give loans to the very poor business people as they have a tendency of regarding everything as relief, thus we may never be able to recover the loans."

This is true for some business people, but it clearly denies the less well-off access to credit, thereby hindering their abilities to start or improve their businesses. The indication here is that much needs to be done in terms of education to ensure that a clear distinction is made between credit and relief, and that methodologies need to be developed to enable poorer people to access credit without having to waste it, or use it on household needs because they have no other means of meeting these needs. This should be done by organizations before they advance credit to traders.

11.4 DISCUSSION

Relief is vital for saving lives and helping people to cope with disaster. It is important for relief and development agencies to work together and to not undermine each other or waste valuable resources. It is understandable that each organization has its own mandate, but for the sustainable livelihoods of the communities they are working with, it is important that organizations share their visions, plans, and support structures with each other.

Relief can easily distort trade activities. Given that stakeholders are not homogeneous, relief organizations have their own criteria for identifying beneficiaries. Despite this, efforts to reach the isolated needy cases have often failed, with relief ending up in the wrong hands. This can have repercussions for traders. Relief agencies need to be aware of the impact of their interventions on the economy. To avoid distorting the economy, thorough market research needs to be carried out on prices, trends, influences and commodity flow. Such an analysis has to be undertaken by non-partisan individuals who will give unbiased results. The experience obtained in the field is that a member of the community can often lack objectivity, naturally wanting their own kin or social group to benefit from any program as much as possible. This compromises the findings and implementation of a program, especially one based on the distribution of relief.

Agencies can foster poor relations with beneficiaries by creating artificial markets or by failing to meet obligations. They may encourage farmers to increase production for income-generating purposes when there is not an adequate marketing structure to deal with the surplus, and there are no contingency plans in place. Proper research must be carried out to protect the farmer's interests: otherwise, the farmer will invest time, energy, and resources in a poorly planned program, which can result in demotivation.

There are organizations such as the Chambers of Commerce, local authorities and trading cooperatives which collect revenue from traders. In spite of these organi-

zations and the collected taxes, the marketing environment has not improved through the use of these funds. The expectation is that international funds are needed to take responsibility for and subsidize market improvements. There are many improvements, which could be carried out without any external intervention.

Relief agencies need to undertake studies on the agricultural potential and patterns of a society to determine the entry and exit points of relief. This may be compromised due to the current insecurity and war in South Sudan. Agencies should ensure that the beneficiaries of relief are encouraged to be self-reliant. It is imperative that prior to the introduction of relief, the agencies take every opportunity to see that the recipients understand that the support will be a short-term and not a long-term solution.

The relief agencies should encourage diversification of crop varieties, which will stimulate trade. This could include developing local varieties both from farm and wild origins as well as appropriate exotic species. This will reduce the risk of dependency on a narrow number of crops, diversify the diet, and increase available commodities for trading purposes. For the time being, the variety of products is limited and they are traded for the most part in their raw form. Adding value through processing and by using cost effective appropriate technology would go a long way to enhancing and attracting trade to the area.

Relief, especially foodstuffs, should be introduced during the cultivation time and withdrawn towards harvest time to ensure that traders of local produce are not affected by saturation with relief products. This brings in a further dimension of proper monitoring and distribution of relief whereby a few individuals should not hoard the relief, thereby creating an artificial shortage to their advantage.

To avoid distorting the market and posing unfair competition to local businesses, relief organizations should consider modalities for distributing relief that will encourage and boost local production. For example, to encourage local traders to produce and sell oil, it is vital that relief organizations consider buying the oil from local producing groups without distorting the

market prices. The organizations could work with the groups both to boost productivity and diversify the markets.

11.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Relief efforts could be expanded and improved upon in the following ways:

- Build capacity among the local community to support agricultural programs, for instance, offer extension services to farmers,
- Explore processing opportunities, such as groundnut paste, milk and milk-products, etc,
- Repair and maintain agricultural machines and equipment,
- Introduce and develop appropriate technology,
- Encourage the introduction of a seed bank to be run by the local community on a cost recovery basis. The relief agency should act as a facilitator while the local community manages the bank,
- Encourage grain banks during harvest time to be managed by a committee selected by the local community. The committee should play a monitoring role to ensure that prices for grain from the grain banks are maintained at affordable rates for the community,
- Develop hardy food crops which can be harvested during the dry season. This would contribute to ensuring availability of food through the different seasons. This should be managed by the community right from the onset to encourage ownership of the program,
- Pilot trials for domestication or improvement of local plant varieties and introduction of appropriate species,
- Establish environmental impact assessments, as they need to be an integral part of any project initiation. The costs of the assessment and any mitigation action need to be integrated into the budget,
- Make donors responsible for seeing that the organizations they support take into consideration the direct and indirect costs of their projects on the wider environment,
- Encourage and facilitate community monitoring and evaluation of projects,
- Carefully identify beneficiaries, so as not to further marginalize the needy,
- Make organizations more innovative in their approach to assistance, so as to move away from the unsustainable relief approach and look at ways of developing capacity and infrastructure,
- Give high priority to entry and exit points and time limits pertaining to project development, as these are related to the success of a program. The message that relief assistance is temporary and not sustainable needs to be stressed,
- When introducing a commodity, make market research essential to understanding the direct and indirect impacts on both the formal and informal economies,
- Allow local administration to set the example in their communities and take local responsibility and initiatives for developing services and infrastructure. They should not expect it to come from outside assistance,
- Enhancement of existing initiatives needs to be a top priority of aid agencies so as to not undermine existing projects or impose unsustainable alternatives,
- Strategies and contingency plans need to be in place to cope with the increase of marketing, storage, and processing so as to support the increase in agricultural production,
- The unregulated trade of drugs for both livestock and humans is dangerous. If people are going to

trade medications and drugs, there needs to be a comprehensive, established training program,

- Cooperation and coordination between organizations will encourage the exchange of resources and knowledge by NGOs, as well as reduce waste of resources, misunderstandings, duplication of services, and time mismanagement,
- Price monitoring set up by the SRRC and the Civil Administration needs to be more vigorously carried out and the variety of commodities expanded. This type of information can also benefit NGOs in program design.

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²⁵ Dom fruit from the tree *Hyphaene thebaica*

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APPENDIX

The British Chambers of Commerce

The British Chambers of Commerce comprise nationally a network of quality-accredited Chambers of Commerce, all uniquely positioned at the heart of every business community in the UK.

What are Chambers?

These accredited Chambers are local, independent, non-profit making and non party-political organizations, funded by membership subscriptions.

Accreditation is managed and developed by our business membership and monitored at the national level, to ensure we deliver only the very best standards of service and performance. Currently over 135,000 businesses benefit from membership of Chambers in the Accredited Network, from growth-oriented start-ups to local and regional subsidiaries of multinational companies, in all commercial and industrial sectors, and from all over the UK.

What are the benefits of membership?

Whatever their size or nature of business, members of the British Chambers of Commerce have access to a range of benefits, all geared to helping them succeed and grow. With over 2500 staff, covering more than 100 locations, our network provides a ready-made management support team for any business, anywhere in the UK. Business training, information re-

sources, networking and savings on essential overheads, all of which are tailored to individual business needs, all contribute to the return on the member company's investment in their local Chamber. Increasingly, many of our services are also available online - whether it's the personal touch, or access through the web, we're ready to deliver. As one of the UK's most powerful business affinity groups, we also work with the best suppliers in the country to offer great deals on a range of products and services, including Stakeholder Pensions, Healthcare, Legal Protection and Digital Certificates.

The British Chambers of Commerce are also part of the global network of Chambers of Commerce, and for existing or potential exporters, there is simply no better route to the global marketplace. Influence and Profile At all levels, local, regional and national, the British Chambers of Commerce provide a powerful voice for business. Our regular surveys, consultations and reports provide grassroots business opinion and have strong influence on government ministers and officials, MPs, and other decision makers and opinion formers. This is reflected by our high profile in all kinds of media; each year we generate thousands of newspaper headlines, TV and radio interviews, often directly involving our member companies. We are run by local business for local business, with each Chamber's Board and Committee structure drawn from the membership. No other business organization can claim the quality, credibility and reach of our relationship with business.

Photos

Photo 1: Map of Southern Sudan (courtesy of UN FAO)

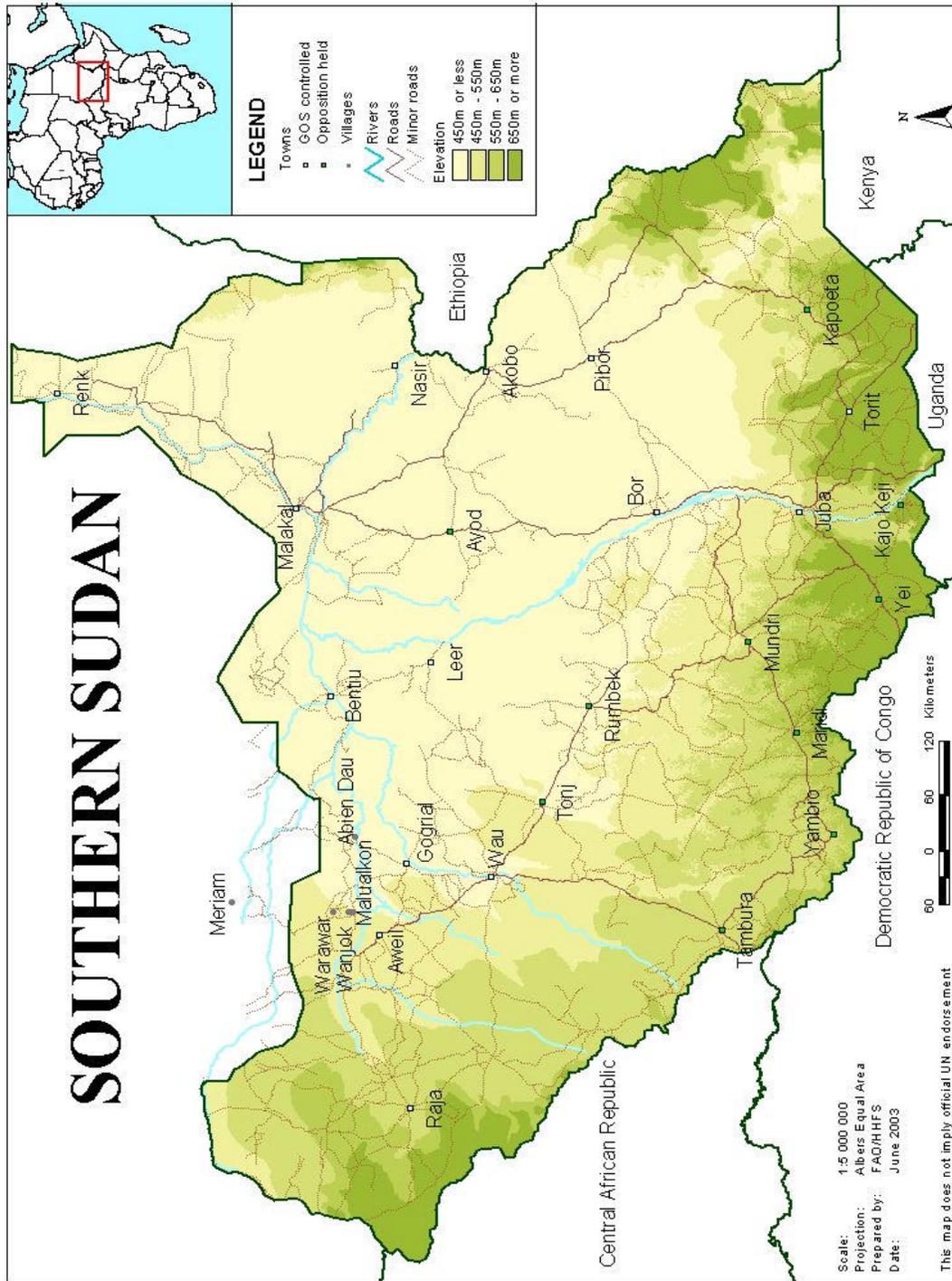


Photo 3: Missiriya Shop in Abien Dau Peace Market
(Photo courtesy of Caroline Gullick)



Photo 4: Dried Fish Seller
(Photo courtesy of Caroline Gullick)



Photo 5: Skins Pegged out to Dry in Warawa Market
(Photo courtesy of Caroline Gullick)



Photo 6: Rumbek Market
(Photo courtesy of Caroline Gullick)



Photo 7: Female Petty Traders in Malualakon Market
(Photo courtesy of Caroline Gullick)

